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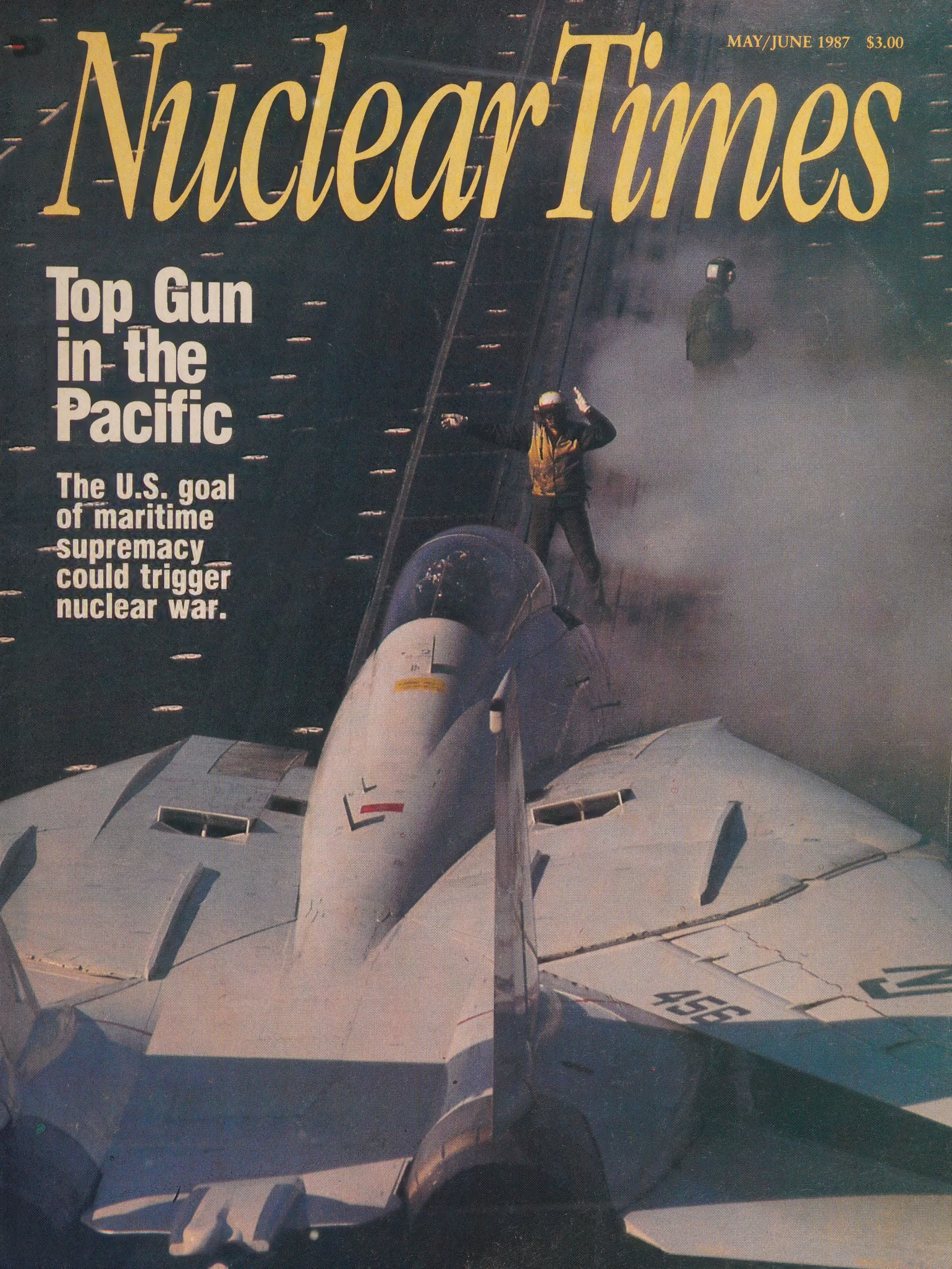
Nuclear Times

Top Gun in the Pacific

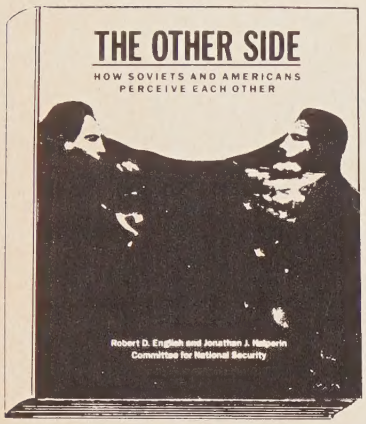
The U.S. goal of maritime supremacy could trigger nuclear war.



THE OTHER SIDE

HOW SOVIETS AND AMERICANS PERCEIVE EACH OTHER

Jonathan J. Halperin, series editor, and Robert D. English, principal contributor


THE OTHER SIDE
HOW SOVIETS AND AMERICANS PERCEIVE EACH OTHER
Robert D. English and Jonathan J. Halperin
Committee for National Security

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On the cover: Directing traffic on the deck of the *USS Constellation* in the Pacific. *Photo by © David Hathcox/Photo Press International 1986.*

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BEHIND THE LINES/RICHARD HEALEY

LIVE FROM D.C.

NOTES ON OUR FACELIFT, OUR NEW ISSUE AND ON THINGS TO COME

Our transition is now complete. We now have a new editorial staff, new offices in Washington, D.C., new computerized operations and a new graphic design. And all of these changes took time, which unfortunately forced us to miss an issue. We apologize for any inconvenience, and will extend all subscriptions by an extra issue.

We're excited about changes we have instituted in this issue. As you flip through the magazine, you will notice new formats and departments. Our "Dispatches" section will give you reports on activities in the peace movement and in the world of policy makers. And our "Network" department, formerly called "Interactions," will provide you with the latest news of what key groups in the peace and disarmament movement are doing and thinking.

The content of our main feature in this issue is due, to a certain extent, to the feedback we received from readers who filled out our survey last fall. More than 40 percent of the respondents asked us to provide more information about the connections between the threat of nuclear war and the U.S. and Soviet presence in the Third World. In response, our cover story discusses the nuclear arms race in the Pacific. In future issues we will cover other regions of the world, including Central America.

Our survey also showed a high degree of reader interest in long-term strategies for disarmament and alternative security. We share that interest and plan to explore these issues. Our concern with security reflects what activists have been saying for several years: the peace movement needs to widen the debate about security by going beyond problems with specific weapons systems or waste, fraud and abuse. We want to encourage debates on arms control, deterrence, anti-communism and containment. The peace movement needs to define its own vision of national security.

Beginning in our next issue we will feature reports on new developments in alternative security and long-term strategy. We will be looking at what local groups are doing and will cover new projects at several progressive think tanks, including the Institute for Policy Studies' "Real Security" project, Randy Forsberg's Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies' "Alternative Defense Network," and the Institute for Peace and International Security's "Common Security" project.

Many people also concerned with developing new concepts of national security focus on the nation's economic health, the welfare of our children and environmental quality. And an increasing number of policy analysts and academics are rethinking their views on arms control and deterrence. *Nuclear Times* will be covering the work of these people as well.

We are living at a time when there are real openings for a new debate on disarmament, deterrence and U.S. foreign policy. *Nuclear Times* will play a role in this debate by reporting on and providing critiques from different positions. The ideas and reactions from grassroots activists are critical, and we will be printing more letters to facilitate the ongoing debate. We invite your comments.

Housekeeping. We also learned from our reader survey that some of you don't know why you get *Nuclear Times*, while others want to know why they get two or three copies of each issue. There is a reason. During the last year we have expanded our circulation by inaugurating our "group program." Groups involved in this program are featured in our "Network" section and they select names of their members to whom we send copies of the magazine. If you belong to more than one group, or are already a subscriber, you could receive more than one copy of an issue, despite our mailing house's best efforts to avoid duplications. If you receive multiple copies, please send them in with their mailing labels, which have your account code, and we will solve the problem.

We have received special grants from several foundations to support the group program. These grants, however, combined with contributions from the groups involved, help pay for the magazine's printing and postage, but do not cover the full cost of producing the magazine. Of course, any donations to offset our costs would be greatly appreciated. □

Richard Healey is the executive director of Nuclear Times.

LETTERS

R-e-s-p-e-c-t

If we in the peace movement want to create a peaceful world, we need, at the barest minimum, to treat each other with a degree of good will and respect. *Nuclear Times*' treatment of David Cortright, executive director of SANE, in your article on the SANE-Freeze merger [January/February, 1987], lacked such good will and did not help the cause of healing and peace. It is, of course, important to write honest and frank articles. But your comments about David were closer to gossip than to candid journalism.

Meg Gage
Executive Director
Peace Development Fund
Amherst, Massachusetts

Anti-Sovietism

George Perkovich's "Beyond the Cold War" [January/February] presents a good outline of the history of American anti-Sovietism, especially its propagation through the media. But ironically, the unstated bias of the article is itself anti-Soviet. Perkovich emphasizes at length how the peace movement generally tends to compromise its message by striving never to offend the American myth of the evil Russian empire. But his discussion of the problem carries with it an almost identical commitment to viewing U.S.-Soviet relations from the double-standard perspective so dear to Americans.

He lists reasons for Americans' distaste for the Soviet Union—Stalinism, imperialism, anti-Semitism, oppression of dissidents—but fails to see any equivalents for these in our own country's history. The equivalents certainly exist: McCarthyism, a variety of racisms, an imperialism that is the flip side of the Soviet version, and a more subtle but often no less demoralizing campaign against serious dissent. Perkovich never suggests how or why Moscow's fear and distrust of Washington may be as valid as the reverse.

The implication that the United States' transgressions in the Third World are negligible in comparison with the Soviets' obscures the real problem and only pays homage to the myth Perkovich seeks to dismantle. A graduate of Harvard should know a little more about the sordid history of his own country. His conclusion that the peace movement must learn to engage the experts and specialists enthroned in the liberal think tanks no doubt betrays his Ivy League conditioning. It is the liberals of such institutions that helped fuel Cold War hysteria in the 1950s.

What the peace movement could use is a little more understanding of the capitalist economic imperative behind the arms race and the role of nuclearism in U.S. intervention in the Third World.

Van Foreman
Minneapolis, Minnesota

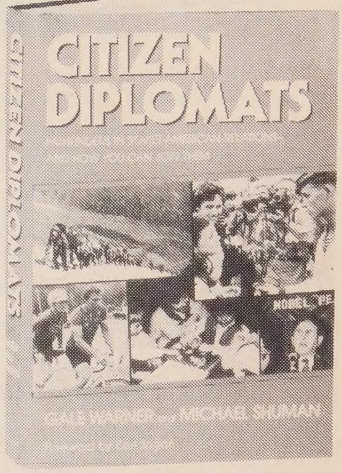
George Perkovich's attempt to counter "70 years of anti-Sovietism" recites all the standard accusations against the Soviet system, many of them undoubtedly true. But he fails to state adequately the offsetting facts about the West's own performance that would make the Soviets compare favorably: the West's unceasing attacks that drove the Soviets into unfortunate measures that they thought of as defensive; the United States' own dismal record in human rights all over the world; the economic misery of millions of people in the West, in contrast to the guarantee of jobs and a living under the Soviet system; and rampant Western imperialism versus Soviet support for liberation movements.

Being retired on a low, but assured income, I would not want to live in the Soviet Union. But millions of our poor and unemployed would be vastly better off there. If we are to fight the dangerous anti-Sovietism, we had better give the facts on both sides, not just those seen by the warmongers. And the biggest fact of all is that the Soviet Union now works for peace, while our government works for war.

Victor Pasche
San Francisco, California

It is no tribute to the caliber of political discussion in the United States that *Nuclear Times* could publish George Perkovich's piece on overcoming anti-Sovietism without directly facing the question

"I couldn't put it down . . ."*



CITIZEN DIPLOMATS

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By Gale Warner and Michael Shuman
With a Foreword by Carl Sagan

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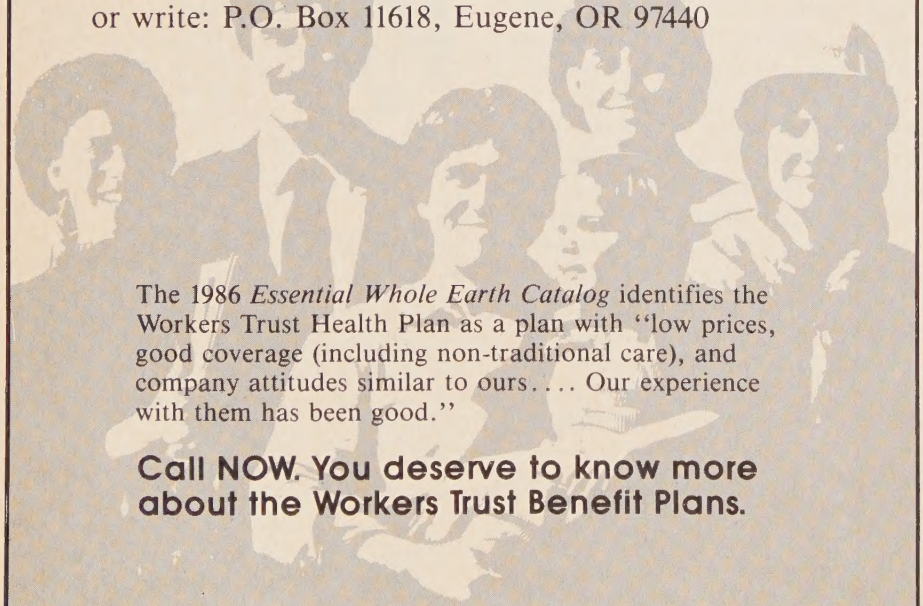

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of socialism. Indeed, a careless reader of Perkovich's article might not gather that the Soviet Union is a socialist country and that this is one of the main issues dividing the two nations.

No doubt this blindness reflects the taboo on taking socialism seriously in the American context. No European discussion of anti-Sovietism would fail to confront what sort of socialism the Soviet Union represents and how it relates to Western socialism. But the issue cannot be ducked. Much of the hatred of the Soviet Union derives from the popular belief that socialism will take away our TV sets and homes and force us to wait in long lines for toilet paper. Moreover, much of the fear of the Soviet Union is underwritten by a belief that socialism involves expansion and repression.

Failing to address these concerns allows them to persist. Should it turn out that some form of socialism or democratic control over the economy is necessary to overcome the structural problems in the United States that generate the arms race and the Cold War, a serious treatment of Soviet socialism—its lessons and warnings—would play a vital role in promoting peace with justice.

Justin Schwartz
Ann Arbor, Michigan

George Perkovich responds: It is curious that Van Foreman and Victor Pasche believe that it is unfair to mention examples of unjust Soviet behavior if they are not countered by examples of U.S. injustices. Do U.S. racism and imperialism make Soviet imperialism and oppression less invidious? Do they make anti-Sovietism less harmful (or in some cases, less justified)?

The article was not intended to explore the "sordid history" of the United States. Rather than defend or explain Soviet atrocities by reference to those of the United States, we should be talking about ways for both superpowers to provide for the welfare of their own citizens and respect the autonomy of the world's other peoples and states. This should be the peace movement's goal—not tallying the relative demerits of each side.

Justin Schwartz is right. Getting beyond the bipolar world of the Cold War requires a serious examination of socialism. This is what Mikhail Gorbachev is doing in his attempt to make the Soviet system more responsive to the needs of its citizenry and more authoritative in international affairs. I also agree with Schwartz that the economic imperatives for all states to continue or reverse the arms race deserves more attention than I was able to give it. □

DISPATCHES

MASS ARRESTS IN NEVADA

THE NEWS MEDIA CALLED IT the resurgence of the U.S. peace movement. In early February, 2,000 people, including six members of Congress, gathered at the Department of Energy's (DOE) nuclear weapons test site in the Nevada desert to protest continued U.S. testing.

More than 400 of the demonstrators, including several well-known Hollywood entertainers, were arrested for civil disobedience.

American Peace Test, Greenpeace, Physicians for Social Responsibility, the American Public Health Association, and Nevada Desert Experience planned the February 5 protest to coincide with the first U.S. test of 1987, but the DOE circumvented the demonstrators by exploding the bomb two days earlier. The blast prompted the Soviet Union to abandon its 18-month moratorium on nuclear weapons testing and to resume testing on February 26.

The demonstration was three times the size of previous protests at the site, according to Peter Bergel, an APT organizer. APT, an offshoot of the Freeze, was formed to stop U.S. testing and build support for a comprehensive test ban treaty among the nuclear powers. [Underground testing currently is permitted under the Limited Test Ban Treaty of 1962.] The group has sponsored four major actions since September 1986 at the DOE facility, which is located near the town of Mercury in Nye County, 65 miles northwest of Las Vegas and due east of Death Valley.

The size of the February demonstration was due in part to the Nye County District Attorney Philip Dunleavy's decision in January to cancel the pending trial of 170 civil disobedience activists arrested at protests last fall. According to Bergel, a number of well-known entertainers were among those arrested and the district attorney wanted to avoid a celebrity-studded trial.

However, many of the previously arrested celebrities, including Carl Sagan and his wife Ann Druyan, Martin Sheen, Robert Blake and Daniel Ellsberg, returned to Mercury on February 5 and again were arrested for trespassing.

Bergel expects half of those arrested, including some of the media stars, to go to trial. "Since the district attorney wants to try demonstrators individually, the case load on the court will be heavy," he said.

Although most of those arrested at this and previous demonstrations have been charged with simple trespass, three organizers, two from APT and one from Nevada Desert Experience (NDE), a religious group that organizes vigils at the site, have been charged with conspiracy. Bergel calls the conspiracy charge a "form of selective harassment."

During the Soviet moratorium, 1,434 people were arrested as part of an ongoing series of demonstrations. Many more have journeyed into the desert to conduct vigils along the road travelled by the DOE's 7,500 employees.

The periodic vigils and demonstrations rely on a steady stream of visitors from outside the sparsely populated region. Some come from as far away as Europe. Peg Bean, a NDE spokeswoman, says that APT and NDE arrange transportation to and from Las Vegas; hold day-long non-violent training sessions for those planning to perform civil disobedience; and provide housing, food, water, and even portable toilets for visiting protesters.

NDE, which was started in 1982 by members of the Catholic Franciscan order, held its sixth 47-day Lenten vigil from March 4 through April 19. When we went to press, Peg Bean, an NDE spokeswoman, said that 10 to 15 people were attending vigils on a daily basis, but she expected that number to swell to between 200 to 300 on Good Friday, April 17.

The next major action at the test site is slated for the second weekend in May. Acknowledging that Nevada is a bit out of the way for most people, Bean and Bergel urge those unable to participate in desert actions to organize local protests against continued testing. "The idea," says Bergel, "is to light fires in your representatives' back yards." —*Robert Schaeffer*

For more information on the May 8-10 "Mother's Day and Others Action" and future plans, contact the American Peace Test, P.O. Box 26725, Las Vegas, NV 89126 (702) 363-7780, or the Nevada Desert Experience, P.O. Box 4487, Las Vegas, NV 89127, (702) 646-4814.

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Charles Hyder (left) at his spot in Lafayette Park talking with Dick Gregory about fasting.

FASTING FOR PEACE

ON APRIL 18, DR. CHARLES Hyder toasted his 57th birthday with a glass of water—the only thing he has been drinking or eating for the last seven months. It was the 208th day of his fast to end the arms race.

The former astrophysicist has vowed his fast will end in death unless the U.S. government makes binding commitments to dismantle all nuclear warheads by the year 2000, disavows the use or support of military force, and insists that the Soviet Union and other countries do the same.

In a late March interview with *Nuclear Times*, Hyder said his terminal fast was the only way he thought he could convince a large segment of the public to take action to end the threat of nuclear war. He has spent much of his time keeping a peace vigil across the street from the White House in Lafayette Park.

Hyder, who stands just over six feet, has lost a little more than half of his original 300 pounds. His face is gaunt and his gums have receded so severely that only a few of his lower teeth remain. His eyes, however, are clear, and his voice is steady and strong.

"If your life is on the line people really pay attention to you," he said. "If you just do a limited fast, people will listen, but then they return to their everyday lives. They aren't really moved to action."

Hyder has been virtually ignored by Congress and President Reagan. But he said that does not surprise him. It is the public, he said, who will have to instigate a change.

"Politicians are locked into the economics of weapon production and aren't interested in disarmament," he said. "The politicians will act [only] if people get off their butts and make them. That's democracy."

Hyder's hunger strike is the culmination of years of what he calls his "public dissent and disconnection from the U.S. war machine." His disaffection began when he served in the Air Force during the Korean War.

"When I got [to Korea], I found we weren't doing what we'd been told we were doing," he said. "Innocent people were being blown up willy-nilly in the name of protecting their country." After the war, he vowed "to never participate in, contribute to, support or permit war."

For many years Hyder did not have the opportunity to act on his convictions. During the 1960s, Hyder was raising five children, teaching astrophysics at UCLA and doing solar research in New Mexico.

Hyder's activism picked up again in the late 1960s. Paul Ehrlich's book, *The Population Bomb*, spurred him to get involved with environmental and peace issues. In the 1970s, while working at NASA, Hyder researched the hazards of nuclear waste disposal and power plant programs on his own time. His reports and testimony helped block the Atomic Energy Commission's plan to bury spent nuclear fuel rods in salt mines in his home state of New Mexico. He says that the publicity he generated led NASA to fire him in 1977.

By 1982, Hyder had become completely preoccupied with finding a way to end the threat of a nuclear war. He began thinking about fasting.

"This [fast] was not a sudden decision," he explained. "When you decide to commit your life to a cause and you try many other things, and they don't work, you are led to the idea of a terminal fast."

His wife, whom he said could not cope with his newfound personal direction, divorced him in 1982. Two years later, he quit his job with the National Center for Atmospheric Research in Boulder, Colorado, and in early 1985 he gave away all his possessions and moved to Washington, D.C. He officially began his fast on September 23, 1986.

Although his fast has been reported by *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *Time* and *Newsweek*, Hyder criticized the U.S. press for inadequate coverage of himself and other peace activists. He also charged that the press has ignored the Soviet disarmament proposals that he says are

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nearly identical to his demands for ending his fast.

"The U.S. press has covered me as little as they can get away with," he said derisively. "I know if I die I'll break the media barrier."

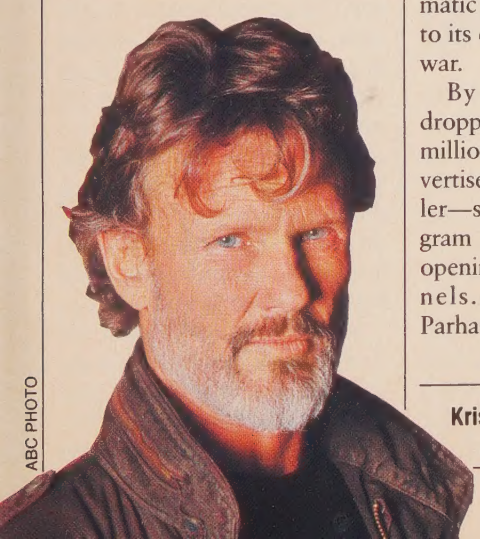
Hyder said he has received more media coverage in other countries, including the Soviet Union, where he has appeared on television three times.

He has also gained the attention of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. On February 27, Gorbachev sent a message cautioning Hyder: "Your spiritual strength is needed to continue the struggle for preventing a nuclear catastrophe, for this reason we urge you to stop your hunger strike." Hyder "respectfully declined" his request.

The Reagan administration has remained silent on Hyder's fast. In early March, a White House spokeswoman told *Nuclear Times* that she knew of no plans by President Reagan to contact Hyder or to comment on his fast.

Meanwhile, Hyder carries on, regularly setting up shop in Lafayette Park to preach peace. "I know if I keep faith in my fast," he says, "I will have succeeded in my quest."

—Leon Tune



ABC PHOTO

Kris Kristofferson, star of ABC's "Amerika."

AMERIKA BOMBS

"AMERIKA," ABC'S MARATHON mini-series about a Soviet invasion of the United States, should have been a publicist's dream come true. With all the attention it received months before its February broadcast, some media watchers predicted that it would grab one of the largest viewing audiences in television history.

Even before it aired, "Amerika" was attacked from both the left and the right. Numerous groups demanded equal time from the network. The United Nations grumbled about suing. Groups such as the Committee for National Security and Educators for Social Responsibility distributed viewers' guides critical of the show's negative depiction of Soviets, American liberals, and the U.N. The networks, national magazines and major newspapers treated the controversy surrounding the show as news, providing the kind of publicity that money can't buy.

But the mini-series bombed. The pre-program publicity could not overcome its dramatic failings, and ABC lost out to its competition in the ratings war.

By most accounts, ABC dropped a bundle on the $40 million, 14-hour show. Advertisers—most notably Chrysler—shied away from the program and viewers, after the opening night, changed channels. ABC publicist Eric Parham told *Nuclear Times*

(Continued on page 10)

The Great Peace Marchers are heading for the Soviet Union.

SOVIET STROLL

THE INTERNATIONAL PEACE Walk, an outgrowth of the Great Peace March, is planning to hit the road in early June and travel through places a little less familiar to Americans than the cities the march visited last year. The marchers' new itinerary will include Seltso, New Rahino, Viypolsovo and Istra—all towns along the 200-mile road from Leningrad to Moscow, U.S.S.R.

IPW organizers concluded negotiations early this spring with representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee (SPC), an officially sanctioned group that coordinates Soviet peace events, and agreed to co-sponsor a march for 200 peace activists from both the United States and the Soviet Union. The walk will begin in Leningrad on June 8 and finish in Moscow on July 12.

Walk organizers hope the first-of-a-kind journey will result in citizen and cultural exchanges, defuse tensions, and slow the arms race. IPW National Co-Director Daniel Chavel believes that "people-to-people diplomacy fosters good will." This is important, he says, because "we believe that arms control will only come in a context of detente."

IPW is accepting applications for the U.S. contingent. Organizers caution that any activities promoting issues other than the arms race and U.S.-Soviet relations are not permitted, according to the agreement negotiated between IPW and SPC. *—R.S.*

Applications and information can be obtained from IPC, P.O. Box 387, Irvine, CA 92715, (714) 675-1290.

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DISPATCHES

(Continued from page 9)
that "Amerika" managed only a 19 rating and a 29 share, which did nothing to budge ABC from a third place standing in the ratings for the week. (The rating indicates the size of the TV audience watching at a given time. Each rating point equals 1 percent of the total number of houses with TVs. The share is the percentage of the audience that is tuned into the program.) "Compared to other mini-series dramas," Parham said, "'Amerika' didn't do that great."

By comparison, "The Day After,"ABC's nuclear holocaust film, garnered a 46 rating and a 62 share. Peace activists also organized around the three-hour film, sponsoring collective view-ins and providing viewer guides and hot lines. But while ABC welcomed out-of-shop publicity for "The Day After," which helped swell the audience and convert viewer ratings into advertising dollars, ABC shunned such efforts for "Amerika."

ABC argued that "Amerika" was thought-provoking but not controversial—a political drama devoid of arguable politics. The network refused to consider giving equal time or to permit advertisements or public service announcements they regarded as political. Committee for National Security Program Director Jonathan Halperin, who wanted to run a PSA during the show, said that discussions with ABC over the matter were "like participating in an absurdist drama. ABC argued that the PSAs were too controversial, but the movie wasn't."

Peace groups were not the only ones to take ABC to task for this dual-track argument. A Greek-speaking Cypriot group, for example, took out a full-page ad in *The New York Times* that asked, "Is our message too controversial for 'Amerika?'" The ad text, which compared the Soviet invasion and occupation depicted in 'Amerika' with the 1974 Turkish invasion and occupation of the northern part of Cyprus, chided ABC for failing to own up to the show's political character.

Even ABC's own Ted Koppel, on a special edition of "Viewpoint" the Monday night following the mini-series, poked fun at the network's position. When ABC Entertainment President Brandon Stoddard continued to insist that "Amerika" was merely entertainment and had nothing to do with U.S.-Soviet relations, Koppel finally interjected, "Come on, Mr. Stoddard. To say that 'Amerika' has nothing to do with U.S.-Soviet relations is like saying that 'Black Beauty' has nothing to do with the relationship between a young girl and a horse."

In the end, however, it was "Amerika's" lazy drama that did the show in. Its negative images of Russians and East Germans mixed with negative images of woeful Americans, creating a depressing melting pot of the future that few could stomach.

It's unlikely that ABC or any other network is likely to venture onto this terrain in the near future. ABC's Parham says that the network has no plans for "other futuristic programs like 'Amerika.'" He attributed this disinterest not to what he called "the pre-program hysteria," but to the fact that "Amerika" and mini-series like it are just "not playing out in the suburbs." —*R.S.*

The USS Augusta, which was built to locate enemy submarines, accidently crashed into a Soviet sub last fall. Good going, guys!

U.S. NAVY PHOTO

MILITARY SUB INTELLIGENCE

FOR $2.7 MILLION IN TAX dollars, guess who the crew of the *USS Augusta* submarine bumped into last October? No, not Moby Dick. No, not Davey Jone's locker. The answer: A Soviet sub.

You may not get the joke immediately, but let us explain. The *Augusta* is one of the Navy's new attack subs designed to *locate* and, in the event of war, destroy enemy submarines. Last November the Navy reported that the submarine, one of a long line of Los Angeles class subs, was cruising in the Atlantic when it struck a "submerged object."

The Navy first estimated the damage to the sub's underside at about $1.5 million. But when General Dynamic's Electric Boat Division got done with the repairs, the price was $2.7 million—almost double.

In early March, unnamed Pentagon sources told the *Associated Press* that the "submerged object" was probably a Soviet submarine. The sources said that, unbeknownst to the crew of the *Augusta*, at least one and possibly more Soviet subs were in the vicinity at the time of the accident.

"The only plausible explanation, and the most likely one, is that somehow the two submarines collided," one defense official said. "As to how it could happen, we don't know."

Soviet subs should be on the look-out. The repairs were completed December 13 and the *Augusta* is back in the water. —*Elliott Negin*

DISPATCHES

SCIENTISTS OPPOSE STAR WARS

TOP AMERICAN SCIENTISTS say the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI), the "Star Wars" plan for putting an anti-ballistic missile-defense system in space, will not work.

According to a fall 1986 survey, members of the National Academy of Sciences (NAS) said, by a margin of 20 to 1, that the prospects were "poor" or "extremely poor" that SDI could be survivable or cost effective. The poll, which was conducted by Dr. Peter Stein, a physicist at Cornell, surveyed the views of 700 scientists—half of the academy membership—who specialize in areas related to defense questions. Seventy-four percent of those polled responded.

Stein's survey also found that NAS scientists agreed, 36 to 1, that SDI could not destroy enough missiles to defend the U.S. population if the Soviet Union tried to overwhelm it; believed 11 to 1 that the Soviet Union appears to be "behind or significantly behind" the United States in critical technologies; and thought, by a similar margin, that SDI research does not merit the $3.5 billion appropriated annually by Congress. Of the NAS members polled, an overwhelming majority—79 percent—said they opposed the SDI program. In the margins of the poll, the scientists wrote remarks such as: "It is costly, dangerous, and a scientific fraud," and "It's a tragic hoax."

The poll was quickly attacked by the Science and Engineering Committee for a Secure World (SECSC), a Washington, D.C.-based group of 100 scientists organized to support SDI. Physicist Robert Jastrow, for 20 years director of NASA's Goddard Institute for Space Studies, argued: "The overwhelming number of these [NAS] scientists know as much about defenses against missiles as an eye doctor knows about taking out your appendix."

SECSC spokesman John Kwapisc argued that polls like Stein's could not be used to forecast the success of potential technologies. As an example, he cited a 1966 poll that found that U.S. scientists predicted an astronaut would land on the moon in 1988. They were off by 20 years. And Dr. Martin Hoffert, chairman of the Department of Applied Science at New York University, argued that "you don't settle these questions by polling people but by doing the research and development necessary to find the answers. SDI is an engineering problem, not a science problem."

Stein rejected criticisms about the poll's validity and defended its results. "It's not correct to say that these scientists 'don't know' anything about missile defenses. Members of the invitation-only National Academy of Sciences, an institution established in 1863 by Congress to advise the federal government on matters of science and technology, were given the option of declining to answer questions outside their area of expertise. About 10 percent did so on each question. To say that the rest 'didn't know' but answered the questions anyway is absurd. They know what they know and what they don't know."

Replying to the criticism that polls couldn't be used to determine the feasibility of scientific research, like landing on the moon, Stein asked: "How are you going to make decisions? Not everything can be pursued with equal vigor. NAS scientists are regularly asked to weigh the merits of research proposals. To say that you should discount the very best of informed scientific opinion, especially when it is overwhelmingly of one mind, is absurd."

In response to Hoffert's criticism that SDI is an engineering problem, not a problem of science, and that scientists, therefore, should keep their noses out of technical matters, Stein argued, "To say that SDI is an 'engineering problem' debases science. SDI is not in the same class of engineering as designing a better car, but asks technology to do tasks that go far beyond what it can now do.

"The poll is important because the people who answered it are the cream of the scientific crop," Stein concluded,"and because it showed that they overwhelmingly rejected the argument that the system is feasible." —*R.S.*

SANE-FREEZE MERGER UPDATE

AT A MEETING ON APRIL 3, the SANE/Freeze transition team adopted a new leadership structure for the merged organization. The transition committee—composed of 10 members from SANE and 10 from the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign—voted unanimously (20 to 0) to put a president and two directors at its head. Freeze and SANE each have executive directors (Carolyn Cottom and David Cortright, respectively).

David Cortright, SANE executive director said, "The decision [on leadership] was an important breakthrough in what is one of the most difficult issues in any organizational change."

Monica Green, co-chair of the transition team from the Freeze, added, "Most of the president's time will be spent carrying the Freeze/SANE message to the public, Congress and the media. The president will also work closely with the directors of SANE and the Freeze to create an effective, efficiently administered national office to serve the grassroots."

At this time, one candidate for president of the new organization has emerged: former U.S. Representative Bob Edgar. An open search for the president will begin in May.

A PAC subcommittee is considering how the groups' PACs can be merged. However, a letter from the board of Freeze Voter to the transition team makes it clear that while Freeze Voter is ready to work closely with the merged organization, it is planning to conduct its own activities through the 1988 elections.

The first meeting of transition Board (50 members from each group) is scheduled for June 6 and 7 in Washington, D.C. —*Chris Riddiough*

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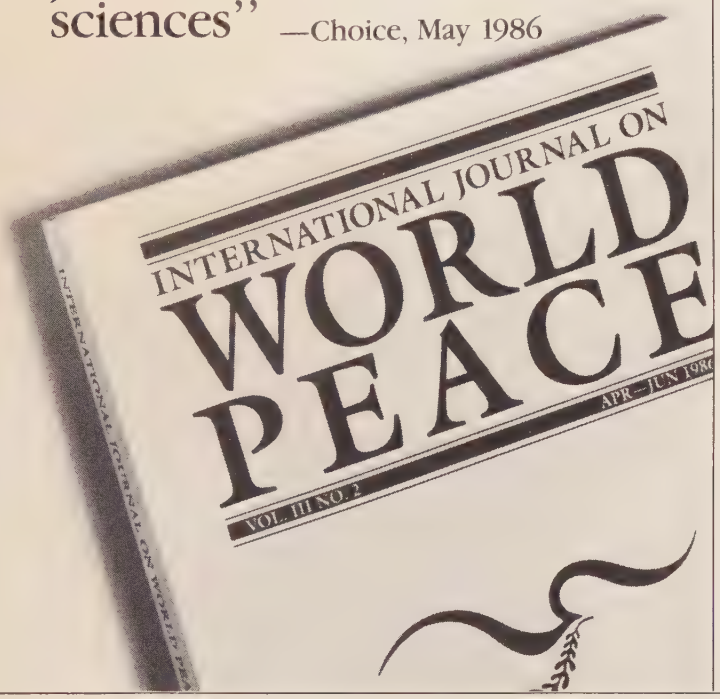

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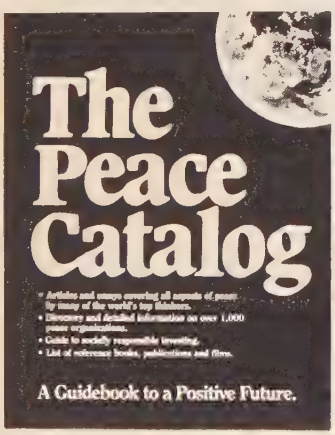

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REYKJAVIK: WHAT'S NEXT?

WHAT DOES THE ICELAND SUMMIT MEAN FOR THE PEACE MOVEMENT?

The American peace movement has not responded in a unified way to the Reykjavik summit. Some groups consider it unimportant, while others think it was important but differ as to why.

Ed Snyder, executive secretary of the Friends Committee on National Legislation, has been an eloquent spokesman for the view that Reykjavik has opened new doors to disarmament. In the committee's December 1986 newsletter he writes, "Despite disappointment at the failure to reach final agreement, the Reykjavik summit has changed the entire political landscape and forced new thinking about the future. The hopes created there for a break in the decades-long arms-control logjam will have a dynamism of their own." Recently he added, "The arms-control process was set in motion. Gorbachev was ready to deal, and had the support of the Politburo. Reagan *could* have taken the high road and made an historic agreement."

Jim Wetekam: Reykjavik has had little impact on Congress.

Others, like United Church of Christ lobbyist Jim Wetekam, believe that Reykjavik did not move the arms control process forward. Whatever effect the summit has had on grassroots groups, it has had little impact on Congress. "It rarely even comes up in discussions on the Hill," Wetekam says.

Perhaps the biggest problem for the Washington peace community is that the Democrats are divided. Some members of Congress hope that the summit will herald a new era, but Sen. Sam Nunn (D-Ga.), chairman of the Senate Armed Services Committee, and Rep. Dante Fascell (D-Fla.), chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee, who represent the party's dominant faction, believe that the near-agreement to abolish all ballistic missiles—which raised the hopes of peace activists everywhere—must be opposed. In his January committee report, *The Reykjavik Talks: Promise or Peril?*, Fascell argues that "neither the Soviet nor American delegations at Reykjavik knew how to stop their roller-coaster surge toward fantasyland. They forgot that arms control is an incremental process. . . ."

Nunn agrees. Right after the summit he said, "I believe that the president must act immediately to pull our zero-ballistic-missile proposal off the table before the Soviets accept it." Why? Because "the Soviets and Warsaw Pact currently enjoy an overwhelming advantage in conventional forces" and might roll NATO if they invaded Western Europe.

Many peace lobbyists believe they cannot count on the Democratic Party to capitalize on Reagan's political weakness and make legislative breakthroughs for arms control. So they have decided to "go back to the trenches" and fight for a cut of half-a-billion dollars in SDI funding or for legislation that will protect existing treaties.

Reykjavik may have made it a little easier to gain some of these objectives. Snyder, Mike Mawby of Common Cause, and others agree that Reykjavik has singled out SDI as the only remaining obstacle to a major agreement, and this special status may make it vulnerable to further funding cuts. Mawby adds that the near-term deployment of SDI components, strongly urged by Defense Secretary Caspar Weinberger and Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, will have to circumvent Reagan's agreement to abide by the ABM Treaty for 10 years. Although the Reagan administration wants to interpret the treaty loosely, Nunn has recently put his considerable mainstream, pro-defense prestige on the side of a strict reading, which could hamper SDI testing.

Mawby adds that the *failure* of Reykjavik has strengthened the resolve of the House Democratic leaders to pursue binding language on the Comprehensive Test Ban and SALT II sub-ceilings, the numerical limits of various strategic weapons. Having bowed to Reagan's demand last fall that they not tie his hand as he went to the summit, they are now angry that he returned with nothing in them. Dick Mark of the Professionals Coalition thinks that some conservative members of Congress are now more open to arguments for arms control. He believes constituents can say, "Look, Reagan has made the most far-reaching proposals for disarmament of any president. Let's at least get a test ban. Or they can point out that any new agreement will build upon the existing ABM and SALT treaties and not allow the administration to undermine them."

What about the mood of grassroots activists?

Mary Hansen of the Seattle Freeze finds that her conservative friends are less fearful of the Soviet Union these days and that the press is less fearful of the right when it reports on weapons systems or Soviet policy. "Reykjavik," she said, "was like a shutter on a lens. It opened and shut, and for two seconds we all got a glimpse of something that remains in our minds. The idea that we *could* get rid of nuclear weapons can no longer be dismissed as utopian daydreaming." □

Michael Ferber has been working on disarmament issues for the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy for the past four years. He will be teaching at the University of New Hampshire this fall.

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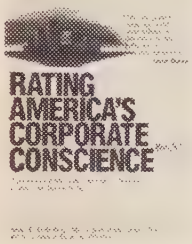

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DAVID LEWIS

CONGRESS MOVES ON ARMS CONTROL

PUTTING PRESSURE ON THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION

During the last six months, the Reagan administration has done much to undermine arms control. It has:

- exceeded unilaterally the SALT II Treaty's limits on offensive nuclear systems;
- tried to scrap the 1972 Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty to allow testing for the Strategic Defense Initiative (SDI);
- advocated pushing ahead with early deployment of Star Wars missile defenses;
- conducted nuclear tests that brought about the end of the Soviet Union's 18-month testing moratorium;
- renewed its efforts to expand the MX Missile program, perhaps by basing additional missiles on trains;
- requested $312 billion for Fiscal Year 1988 military spending; and
- unveiled a new civil defense plan to build "members only" fallout shelters for local government officials.

But the political landscape has changed. Congress has become an active player on nuclear weapons and arms control issues, and increasingly is willing to delay or prevent the most destabilizing and dangerous administration initiatives by tightening the federal purse strings. "On arms control, only the president can negotiate," notes House Speaker Jim Wright (D-Texas), "but only the Congress can appropriate."

Congressional activism on these issues has grown steadily over the last three years, pushed ahead by constituent pressure, grassroots electoral work, authoritative issue expertise, more sophisticated lobbying, coalition building and patient cultivation of leadership. With additional political developments improving the environment for arms control, the 100th Congress now has excellent opportunities for curtailing the nuclear weapons buildup.

Administration Decline. In the space of one week last August the House passed five arms control amendments to the annual Pentagon funding bill, an unprecedented show of activism and a major embarrassment to the President. Reagan responded with the sudden Reykjavik summit, in an attempt to rebuff congressional efforts and regain control of arms control issues. At Reagan's request Congress dropped the weapons restrictions it had passed, but the summit produced no agreements.

The summit's major impact was to un-

derscore White House disarray on foreign policy and to diminish administration credibility on Capitol Hill. Even before the Iran-Contra scandal, Congress had grown impatient with Secretary of State Schultz, Defense Secretary Weinberger and other officials who offered contradictory versions of the administration's arms control intentions. Congressional relations deteriorated as many of Reagan's more skillful aides left the administration.

This decline emboldened Congress to challenge the president more often. House Armed Services Committee Chairman Les Aspin (D-Wis.) warned the Pentagon last October not to reopen the MX debate. And House Speaker Wright has insisted that military spending increases are impossible unless the president raises taxes to pay for them.

The fiscal crunch has also made nuclear arms control a bipartisan effort. Government programs have been slashed to pay for big weapons systems, offending enough fiscal conservatives to create winning coalitions on military spending cuts. Star Wars funding was almost frozen in 1986 by such a coalition.

The Soviet Union's flexibility in arms talks and increasing openness to dialogue have helped Congress assert itself on nuclear weapons issues. The Soviet's testing moratorium, acceptance in principle of on-site inspection, and willingness to discuss removal of European missiles contrasts sharply with the Reagan administration's reckless intransigence. Congressionally imposed treaty compliance and limits on weapons programs have become more acceptable as responsible, modest and achievable steps.

Congressional leaders have welcomed the resumption of talks on reducing nuclear missiles in Europe, but they are refusing to shelve arms control just because negotiations have started.

"We let Reagan have a free hand in Iceland and got nothing in return," said one Democratic Hill staffer. "We were burned once and it won't happen again."

House Speaker Wright and Senate Majority Leader Robert Byrd (D-W.Va.) adopted this tougher stance when they rejected Shultz's appeal to delay votes on nuclear testing and SALT II compliance until after his April trip to Moscow. Instead, Wright stuck by his promise of last October and scheduled those votes for early in 1987 as amendments to a special appropriations bill. □

David Lewis is an arms control lobbyist for the Physicians for Social Responsibility in Washington, D.C.

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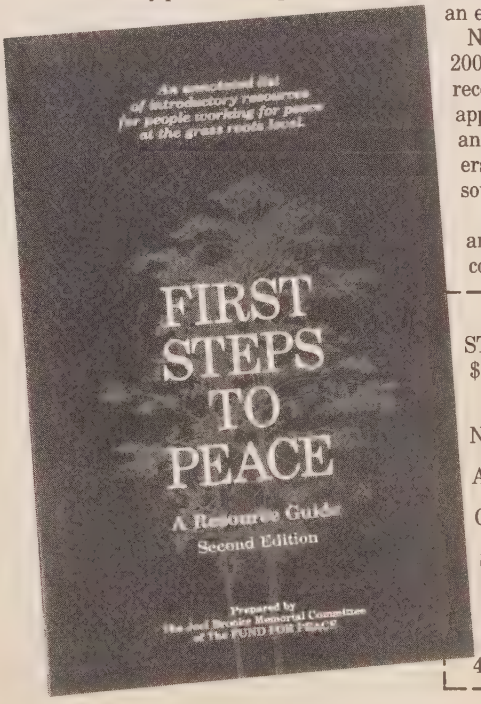

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Brinksmanship in the Pacific

The U.S. goal of maritime supremacy over the Soviet Union has triggered a nuclear build-up that imperils the globe.

BY LYUBA ZARSKY, PETER HAYES & WALDEN BELLO

Over the past seven years, the Pacific has become an arena of heightened superpower confrontation. Since the late 1970s, and especially since Ronald Reagan's new Cold Warriors swept into power, the United States has undertaken a major military build-up in the Pacific. Part of a global strategy to attain clear-cut superiority over the Soviet Union, this build-up is particularly important to the U.S. goal of attaining "maritime supremacy."

With the world's economic center of gravity tilting to the Pacific, the strategic stakes in the region have increased. By the early 1980s, Asia-Pacific nations accounted for 17 percent of world production and 20 percent of world exports. The U.S. volume of trade with the Pacific outstripped that with Europe by a quarter. And by 1986, Japanese banks dominated world financial markets, controlling the largest share of world financial assets.

Aimed at reasserting U.S. power in what the military considers an American lake, the build-up reversed U.S. policy in the mid-1970s, which moved to reduce U.S. regional forces following defeat in Vietnam. By the mid-1980s, the U.S. commander-in-chief Pacific (CINCPAC) commanded more than 320,000 U.S. Army, Navy, Marine and Air Force troops assigned to the Pacific. Indeed, the Pacific is the Pentagon's largest multi-service, unified region of military operations. Primarily a maritime theater, Pacific Command stretches from Alaska to South Africa, covering nearly half the earth's surface.

American strategy in the Pacific rests on three legs: increased deployment of nuclear and conventional forces; an upgraded role for nuclear weapons; and a reinvigorated network of security alliances under U.S. nuclear leadership.

While this strategy involves the entire region, the spearhead of the U.S. military thrust is Northeast Asia and the Soviet Far East, home of the Soviet Pacific fleet. The Soviet Union, which is an Asian as well as a European power, has responded by expanding its own nuclear land-based and naval forces.

This build-up has triggered a dangerous and escalating superpower nuclear arms race in the Pacific. As a result, the Pacific has become an arena that contains the seeds of global nuclear war.

Nuclear Arms Race

The nuclear peril in the Pacific stems from political, institutional, technological and geographical sources.

First and foremost is the deployment of large, increasingly lethal and accurate Soviet and American nuclear forces. The U.S. build-up has focused primarily on the Navy, while the Soviets have expanded mainly their land-based nuclear arsenal.

The relatively recent addition of submarine-launched Trident I missiles aboard Ohio-class submarines has increased American nuclear firepower dramatically. First deployed in the Pacific in 1983, Ohios are the ultimate land-attack weapon system. Each submarine can fire 24 Trident I missiles and rain 192 warheads to within 500 yards of their targets. With a firing range of more than 4,500 miles, the Ohio can hit targets deep in Soviet Central Asia from the middle of the Pacific. The United States plans to deploy 10 Ohio subs in all. By 1989, they will carry the even more lethal Trident II missiles.

Deployment of sea-launched Tomahawk cruise missiles is another threatening development. With the Tomahawk, the number of Pacific-fleet ships capable of launching a nuclear attack will increase from five in 1984 to about 50 in 1990.

No larger than a sea gull to Soviet radars, the Tomahawk can travel 1,500 miles before exploding a nuclear bomb above Soviet airfields or ports. By disarming Soviet coastal defenses, the Tomahawk would allow U.S. aircraft carriers to cruise into waters adjacent to the Soviet Far East. From there they could attack Soviet land forces or nuclear missile submarines at sea, a strategy Admiral James Watkins, former chief of naval operations, called going "for the jugular."

The Navy's strategy rests on "offensive defense," that is, projecting its power to the shores of the Soviet Union. "Simply stated," said Admiral Sylvester Foley, the commander of the U.S. Pacific Fleet in 1983, "the concept is to get the archer before he releases his arrow." Drawing on refurbished battleships and new aircraft carriers, the Pacific armada of forward-de-

Lyuba Zarsky and Peter Hayes are researchers with Nautilus Pacific Research in Leverett, Massachusetts. Walden Bello is the Pacific affairs specialist for the Institute for Food and Development Policy in San Francisco. They are the authors of American Lake *(Viking-Penguin, 1987).* *Paul Spiegel provided assistance for this article.*

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Opposite page: Parachutists from the U.S. Air Force participate in Team Spirit '87 exercises in South Korea in late March.

Aquino, U.S. Bases and Counterinsurgency

"We consider the Philippine bases critical to our strategy in the Western Pacific and Indian Ocean," claimed Navy Secretary John Lehman shortly after the fall of Ferdinand Marcos in February 1986. "We do not plan to leave."

President Corizon Aquino has apparently heeded U.S. warnings to keep the bases open. Despite popular clamor to evict U.S. forces from Clark air and Subic Bay naval bases, a 48-member commission appointed by Aquino drafted a constitution empowering the president to negotiate a new treaty that would extend the tenure of the two bases beyond 1991, when the current lease expires.

The constitution also declares the Philippines to be nuclear free, but only insofar as that is "consistent with the national interest."

On February 2, 1987, more than 75 percent of the electorate ratified the new constitution. It was a ringing endorsement for Aquino, who had just survived a string of coup attempts by militarists and Marcos loyalists. "A vote for the constitution is a vote for Cory," proclaimed Aquino's campaign slogan.

The Pentagon is clearly relieved. Clark and Subic are two of the largest overseas U.S. bases. Headquarters for the 13th Air Force, Clark is a major communications center and a hub for aircraft bound for the Indian Ocean. Subic Bay, described by one defense analyst as "probably the most important basing complex in the world," is the staging area for 7th Fleet deployments to the Indian Ocean. Both bases also provide critical back-up support for U.S. forces deployed in Northeast Asia, the spearhead of the current U.S. build-up in the Pacific.

Besides offering a geo-strategic location, the Philippines provides the Pentagon with a skilled, low-wage work force. More than 50,000 Filipinos work on the bases, an "asset" that would be difficult to duplicate elsewhere in the Pacific.

With the nationalist threat to the bases temporarily defused, U.S. officials are now focusing on the 18-year-old leftist insurgency. For the most part, the Reagan administration has been impatient with Aquino's policy of "national reconciliation" directed at the New People's Army (NPA), preferring a military solution. As Richard Armitage, a senior U.S. defense official, explained, there is "little doubt in our minds that, at the end of the day, military action will be required to defeat the insurgency."

Given American popular opposition to direct military intervention, the United States will likely continue to fight the NPA indirectly by providing counterinsurgency advice, military training, and military aid. In February 1987, the Manila press revealed that, at a meeting in late January, the National Security Council discussed the option of concentrating firepower on one island in a "decisive show of force" against the NPA. Negros, the economically depressed sugar-producing island where the NPA is growing quickly, was mentioned as a prime target.

The bases also have "assets" that are useful to the counterinsurgency effort, such as a U.S. Air Force "Special Operations Squadron," which can provide reconnaissance to the Philippine military. The U.S. Navy's SEAL (Sea-Air-Land) special forces unit, based at Subic Bay, trains Filipino counterinsurgency forces in anti-guerrilla operations similar to those the SEALs carried out in the Vietnam War.

The 25-year base treaty will be up for a five-year review in early 1988 and will expire in 1991. With virtual control of the press, Marcos short-circuited popular debate and concluded the 1983 review in only a few weeks. Under Aquino, nationalists and leftists have used new political openings to press for base withdrawal. The anti-bases campaign is a double-edged sword for the new president, straining relations with her own military and the United States while reinforcing her requests for increased U.S. military and economic aid.

The upcoming base negotiations will be protracted and controversial—at least in the Philippines. With American and Filipino peace activists organizing within the United States, not only Aquino, but the Reagan administration and its successor are likely to feel increased pressure as well. □

ployed surface warships jumped from 21 to 40 ships between 1980 and 1983.

Confronted with nuclear-armed U.S. forces at its doorstep, the Soviet Union has expanded its own nuclear forces. Soviet Pacific fleet submarines and surface ships, headquartered at Vladivostok, have been fortified with ballistic and cruise missiles. Indeed, the Soviets use nuclear weapons to compensate for the shortcomings of their aging fleet.

Most of the Soviet Pacific nuclear arsenal is kept at home in the warheads of intermediate-range, mobile SS-20 ballistic missiles. Deployed in Central Asia and the Far East since 1978, the SS-20s are aimed not only at U.S. Pacific forces but also at China, with whom the Soviets share a 4,500 mile border.

Limited Nuclear War Plan

American strategic doctrine—the plans that govern the use of nuclear weapons—form the second leg of U.S. strategy and a second source of the growing nuclear peril in the Pacific.

First, this strategy calls for a global war in which the United States surrounds the Soviet Union. In the past, U.S. doctrine rested on the notion that Europe would be the primary war theater. Today, the Pentagon—especially the Navy—is as oriented toward the Pacific as toward Europe. In wartime, it is just as likely that U.S. forces would swing from Europe to the Pacific as in the opposite direction. Furthermore, if war breaks out in Europe or the Middle East, the Navy may attack the Soviets in the Pacific.

Second, in a break from earlier thinking that any use of nuclear weapons would escalate rapidly to global war, Pacific Command is equipped and ready to fight a theater nuclear war in the Pacific. If war were to break out in volatile Korea, for example, the Army envisions a nuclear attack limited to the peninsula. If a naval shootout were to take place in the North Pacific, the Navy believes it can confine the fighting to the sea.

Pacific Command has an astonishing array of organizations devoted to nuclear war planning at its headquarters in Hawaii.

Particularly important is the Nuclear Operations Team, which works out of the Nuclear Operations Center, where Pacific-wide nuclear war activities are coordinated.

Under Reagan, Pacific Command's bureaucracy for fighting "limited" nuclear wars has proliferated.

Soviet Lake?

According to the new Cold Warriors, the American build-up in the Pacific merely

balances a recent Soviet naval thrust into the region. The Navy's rhetoric often borders on the hysterical. "The Pacific moat's integrity," railed a 1985 editorial in *Proceedings*, a prestigious U.S. Navy journal, "is being challenged by the Soviet Union and, today, it is a waterway over which the Soviet Pacific Fleet is probing, prowling and testing." It was the same year Admiral Sylvester Foley, the commander-in-chief of the U.S. Pacific fleet, warned that the Pacific "could turn into a Soviet lake. . . ."

In reality, the Soviet strategic position in Asia is bleak, as even senior American commanders admit. With the United States and Western Europe on one side and the United States, China and Japan on the other, the Soviet Union is surrounded by hostile powers. In fact, the major portion of the Soviet Union's Far East military effort is directed at China.

Soviet power in the Pacific—in political, economic and conventional military terms—pales beside that of the United States and its Pacific allies. Although they have recently greatly expanded their Pacific naval forces, the Soviets do not have a single aircraft carrier to match the six U.S. carrier battle groups in the Pacific. Most Soviet bombers and fighter planes are capable only of territorial defense.

The U.S.S.R. has only two allies in the Pacific: North Korea, which is adamantly independent and also allied to China; and Vietnam, where the Soviets maintain a base originally built by the United States at Cam Ranh Bay. The base houses a substantial Soviet arsenal, including submarines, surface ships and a floating dry dock. Other Soviet military facilities in Vietnam include an intelligence station and an airbase.

The primary purpose of Soviet bases in Vietnam, however, is to open a southern front in the event of a war with China, as well as to protect the important Soviet Far East supply route via the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, the bases are vulnerable to the powerful U.S. 7th Fleet and the southern Chinese coastal navy, as well as to American air power from Guam, Okinawa and the Phillipines.

With few forward bases and little forward capability, Soviet military strategy can be summed up as "defensive defense." It is a strategy aimed primarily at facing and countering the American threat in the West Pacific.

Nonetheless, the Soviets also stand at the nuclear brink in the Pacific, casting a long shadow. To compensate for its weakness in conventional forces, the Soviet Union has built a huge, primarily home-based nuclear arsenal that hangs over the region like a sledgehammer. While the Cold Warriors in the White House plan for "limited war," the Soviets point to their sledgehammer and make clear that *any* attack—nuclear or conventional—on their homeland or military forces will bring down its full weight. As the United States ups the ante with its naval-nuclear deployments, the Soviet Union calls the bet by piling up its home-based arsenal of SS-20 missiles. Outgunned by the United States in conventional forces, the Soviets have adopted a highly escalatory nuclear doctrine that substitutes risk for capability.

The *Novorossiisk*, the flagship of the Soviet Pacific fleet, is one of the Soviet Navy's three aircraft carriers. None of these carriers match the six U.S. carrier battle groups in the Pacific, and most Soviet bombers and fighter planes are only capable of territorial defense.

In July 1986, Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev travelled to Vladivostok to call for a regional disarmament and security conference. The United States rejected the idea outright as mere propaganda. Moreover, the Pentagon worries that nuclear arms control or disarmament in the Pacific would curtail interventions by the nuclear Navy.

Nuclear Shadow Boxing

The United States and the Soviet Union shadow box with nuclear weapons not only in the Pacific but also in Europe and the Middle East. Yet the risk that they will trade real nuclear punches in the Pacific is as great or greater because it is such a politically volatile and heavily nuclear-armed area.

Cold War blocs, which have remained static in Europe, have shifted dramatically in the Pacific. China, for example, switched from being a Soviet ally to a U.S. friend, tipping the balance of Asian politics. In less than half a century there have been two major land wars and a host of bloody insurrections out of which heavily-armed repressive governments have emerged. Communist, democratic and nationalist insurgencies, as well as continuing conflicts between nations, continue to make the region politically turbulent.

Should superpower interventions in these conflicts overlap, The United States and the Soviet Union could clash in combat and push the nuclear button. Indeed, while the United States has not launched a nuclear attack since 1945, it has repeatedly threatened China, North Korea and Vietnam, as well as the Soviet Union, with nuclear attacks.

There is no doubt that the Middle East could become a flashpoint, escalating to superpower confrontation. While there are no permanent Soviet or American nuclear stockpiles in the Middle East, U.S. and Soviet nuclear-armed submarines patrol the Indian Ocean. Furthermore, the United States has created a 300,000-man Rapid Deployment Force for intervention in a Mideast (or Asian) hot spot. Unlike Europe and Korea, however, there is no nuclear "trip wire" in the Mideast.

The most likely place for a nuclear war to erupt in the Pacific is in Korea or at sea in the North Pacific. A highly sensitive Soviet military area, the seas offshore Northeast Asia are thickly deployed with U.S. and Soviet submarines and surface ships. It is a tense area where American and Soviet ships have collided. In 1983, just six weeks after the Soviets shot down an intruding KAL commercial jetliner, the United States con-

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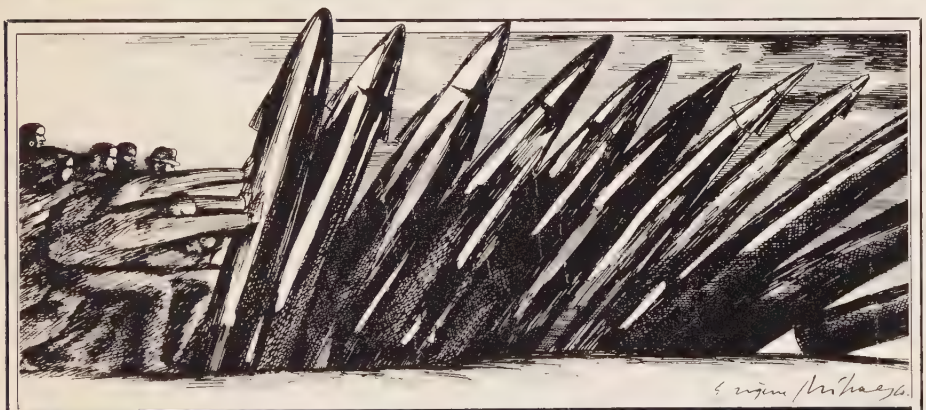

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ducted a massive naval exercise in the region—a barely disguised dry-run for an attack on the Soviet Far East.

Korea is the nuclear powder keg of the Pacific. Dug in along the northern side of the Demilitarized Zone (DMZ) are an estimated three-quarters of North Korea's 800,000 troops. Facing them are more than half-a-million South Korean soldiers and nearly 40,000 American soldiers. In what one former U.S. commander in Korea called "the most remarkable concession of sovereignty in the entire world," the South Korean military is controlled by the American commander stationed there.

American forces in Korea threaten nuclear retaliation for any attack from the north. They ensure that the United States automatically will be involved in any war that erupts on the divided peninsula. Equipped with 150 nuclear weapons, these forces field the only American soldiers in the world who remain on a war footing 24 hours a day. "Every day and every night," says an American commander in Korea, American soldiers are sent out "on ambushes and patrol in the DMZ with the sole mission to shoot folks."

Little is known about American nuclear weapons in Korea. Documents recently released under the U.S. Freedom of Information Act, however, cast light on the structure and purpose of American nuclear forces. The telephone directory of U.S. Forces Korea, for example, lists a "Plans and Operations Nuclear Division" in South Korea, which has three branches that cover plans and operations, control of the weapons, and emergency disposal.

Another document, the "Organization and Functions Manual," explains that the nuclear division "analyzes nuclear targets," "performs nuclear fire planning" and "prepares nuclear contingency plans."

Most South Koreans, even those in

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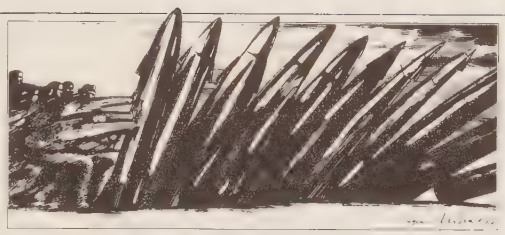

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Conventional Balance Coverage: Reporters on the Record

by George Perkovich

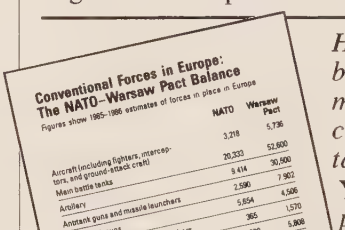
In the wake of the October summit at Reykjavik and, more recently, as the U.S. and USSR appear to be edging toward an agreement to withdraw medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe, news stories depicting the Warsaw Pact as having overwhelmingly superior conventional forces have proliferated. As *Newsweek* put it in a representative assessment on November 10, 1986: "American acceptance of what is known in arms control as the 'zero-zero' option would leave Western Europe exposed to intimidation by the Warsaw Pact's massively superior nonnuclear forces." Similarly gloomy judgments have appeared in *Time, The Wall Street Journal, The Boston Globe, The New York Times, The Baltimore Sun,* and on the networks.

Such reporting leaves the impression that analysts are unanimous in the belief that the Pact's conventional forces could overwhelm those of NATO. In fact, there is a substantial diversity of opinion on the subject. General Frederick J. Kroesen, then commander of the U.S. Army in Europe, testified before Congress in 1983 that, "It disappoints me to hear people talk about the overwhelming Soviet conventional military strength. We can defend the borders of Western Europe with what we have. I do not think that conventional defense is anywhere near hopeless."

Nongovernmental experts who have questioned the assumption that NATO forces are weak compared to those of the Warsaw Pact include Paul Davis, director of the Rand Corporation's Strategy Assessment Center; former Ambassador Jonathan Dean, who headed the U.S. delegation to the conventional force reduction talks in Geneva from 1978 to 1981; Brookings Institution analysts Joshua Epstein and William Kaufmann, and academic analysts at the University of Chicago, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and other universities. Although their analyses differ in emphasis their work concurs on a central fact: As Dean says, NATO forces are "considerably more evenly matched with Soviet forces than most analyses allow for." Why, then, with the exception of occasional pieces on op-ed pages, has coverage not reflected this diversity of views? Reporters who have filed such stories cite deadline pressure, space constraints, and a variety of political factors. Many of these same journalists acknowledge the incompleteness of their reporting.

Some reporters appear disinclined to question the assumption of the Pact's conventional superiority. Fred Kaplan, *The Boston Globe*'s Pentagon reporter, says that "many correspondents may not know that Pact superiority is seriously disputed." He adds that "The claim that the Soviets are overwhelmingly superior has been repeated so many times that its validity is taken for granted." In fact, one well-known diplomatic correspondent for a major East Coast daily, who asked not to be named, says he "didn't do any special research" before concluding in a recent story that the Warsaw Pact has "overwhelming superiority in conventional weapons." It is "common knowledge," he says, that the Pact has "an imbalance leading to overwhelming superiority."

Other reporters who have worked on the conventional balance story know of the divided opinion on the question but have reported, nevertheless, the standard worst-case assessments. Bernard Trainor, the retired Marine Corps lieutenant general who joined *The New York Times* in October as its military correspondent, says that in the excitement after the Reykjavik summit over the prospect of sharp reductions in U.S. and Soviet nuclear arsenals, the *Times* wanted to "cause people to say, 'Wait a minute, is this really such a good idea?'" Five days after the summit ended, Trainor wrote in a twenty-one-inch "Military Analysis" that "experts say the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies now have a conventional superiority of forces." Trainor acknowledges that his piece did not take into account many qualitative factors which affect the European balance to the West's advantage. He now describes his article as "a spasm response."



Conventional Forces in Europe: The NATO–Warsaw Pact Balance

Figures show 1985–1986 estimates of forces in place in Europe

	NATO	Warsaw Pact
Aircraft (including fighters, interceptors, and ground-attack craft)	3,218	5,736
Main battle tanks	20,333	52,600
Artillery	9,414	30,500
Antitank guns and missile launchers	2,590	7,902
Antiaircraft guns	5,854	4,506
Surface-to-surface missile launchers	365	1,570
	860	6,808
	53	78+

How to tally the conventional balance? The numbers can be misleading; important factors can't be counted. A representative ledger from The New York Times *is annotated on pages 8 and 9.*

Reliance on aggregate numbers is common in stories on the balance in Europe. *The Baltimore Sun*, in a post-summit story on October 22, provided a typical example of how these numbers are used: "The Warsaw Pact forces, according to NATO figures, currently have a 2-to-1 superiority in battle tanks and one-third more antitank guided weapons launchers. They have a total military strength of 6 million against NATO's 4.5 million, with 202 divisions against 121. Such overwhelming superiority has been countered by a nuclear arsenal."

Trainor says he recognizes the incompletness of such

numbers. "Bean-counts mean nothing," he says. Nevertheless, in a chart accompanying his October analysis of the conventional balance, the *Times* listed raw numbers of tanks, troops, and artillery. Tim Carrington, *The Wall Street Journal*'s Pentagon reporter, also acknowledges that statements about Pact superiority in his stories were based on "numerical measurements that to some extent are not the right measurements, or are only superficial." [See "What's In a Number?" page 8.]

Many reporters say the difficulty of demonstrating succinctly NATO's qualitative advantages is a major obstacle to providing a more balanced view of NATO's ability to withstand a conventional attack by the Pact. "NATO's advantages in training, command and control, and morale cannot be easily reduced to numbers, though these factors really matter," the *Globe*'s Kaplan says. He adds that the major daily newspapers do a better job of presenting these aspects of the balance than the wire services or the networks, which rarely devote significant space to the issue.

According to Trainor, a fuller analysis of how NATO's defenses might match up against a Pact offense is "probably a little too arcane for a daily newspaper," even for the *Times*. "One of the problems is that space is so tight. To do the issue justice, you really have to develop it, take 1,400 to 1,800 words. They want to keep everything to 500 words." Trainor says his piece on the conventional balance is an example of "the quick shot" dictated by space constraints.

TIME magazine's Pentagon reporter, Bruce van Voorst, agrees that a fuller discussion of the balance is "a little too philosophic" for his newsweekly. "I can't demonstrate in 100 lines that the balance is not as bad as the conventional wisdom says it is. My view is that the relative strength of forces is probably more equal than guys like [Secretary of Defense Caspar] Weinberger and [Supreme Allied Commander, Europe, General] Bernard Rogers say it is, but to make this case you have to be very convincing."

The *Journal*'s Carrington appears to be making an effort to distinguish between quantitative and qualitative advantages even within such space constraints. He no longer uses the word "superiority" to refer to the East's conventional forces and instead writes of the Warsaw Pact's "larger" forces.

Whatever practical obstacles journalists may feel they face in reporting the range of views on the conventional balance, Kaplan notes that the political sensitivity of the story contributes to such difficulties. "There is an implied political statement in seriously reciting arguments that the Soviets are not as great a threat as the conventional wisdom holds," he says. Readers, faced with such a stance, might ask: '"Is this guy making apologies for the Soviets?'"

The "'Cold War' context of defense debate is not to be minimized," says Kaplan. "It's a major issue. It's not talked about. If you ask someone [a reporter] directly they would say 'No, No,' but it's there. . . . Reporters are bound by the culture. The mainstream is defined by who sits in the White House. To go outside of it requires a daring stand."

GEORGE PERKOVICH is a fellow of the World Policy Institute in New York City.

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Tracking the Arms Control Story: What's New? What's True?

by David M. Rubin

• At the time it seemed an important story. In the heat of July, the news media reported that the fate of arms control rested on an exchange of letters between President Reagan and Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev. White House advisers leaked furiously. Speculation about the mere tone of the Reagan letter was so intense that it captured the front page in *The New York Times* on July 21, 22, and 24. In August, however, *U.S. News & World Report* reporter Nicholas Daniloff was arrested, and news about the epistolary exchange disappeared down some media black hole.

• By October, the media's attention shifted to the Reykjavik summit and the question of who had hustled whom in the frantic bargaining. Did both sides really want to eliminate long-range ballistic missiles, or even all nuclear weapons? Did the meeting represent progress or disaster? Would either side yield on Star Wars? This story promised enough material for another volume by Strobe Talbott.

• In late November, the events at Reykjavik were eclipsed by yet another story. At last, after six years of threats and malediction, it seemed the Reagan administration would exceed SALT II limits on offensive systems by equipping the 131st B-52 bomber with nuclear-tipped cruise missiles. [See "Just What Did Reagan Mean When He Talked About SALT?" *Deadline,* July/August 1986.] But the SALT story, like those that preceded it in the summer and fall, proved a nonstarter. Handicapped by competition with the Iran-Contra affair, it never really left the blocks and largely lost its news value within weeks. Michael Gordon administered a belated *coup de grace* in his *New York Times* report of February 17. The latest story "that has emerged as the central arms-control issue," he wrote, is how to interpret the meaning of the Anti-Ballistic Missile treaty.

• But this new "central issue" of the ABM treaty soon had to compete with another, the story of Gorbachev's offer to eliminate medium-range nuclear missiles from Europe. But in the wake of the offer, the Reagan administration has focused on the problem of short-range missiles, which has diverted the press's attention from the original offer.

How should the press and public manage this barrage of "central" stories? As the two groups eye this parade of events, they become much like two novice jugglers inside a circus ring. Outside the ring, the administration watches as the press and public try to keep several pins in the air. Just when they get the hang of it, a Caspar Weinberger or a Kenneth Adelman tosses in another pin, then another. Reporters race around trying to keep all the pins airborne. The public logically assumes the addition of new pins means something is going on in arms control. Call it the bias of activity. But once the public gets hit on the head a few times by pins it can't juggle, it drops the game and retires to other activities.

Reporters, however, are obliged to continue, and because they report "what's new, not what's true," a useful phrase borrowed from Leslie H. Gelb of the *Times,* they try to handle these new pins. Hence the endless parade of "central" stories.

Occasionally, in a long takeout, reporters do provide perspective on all this activity. (Journalists notable for their ability to get at the heart of the arms control story recently were honored with Olive Branch Awards. See the accompanying article on page 4.) But while sufficient coverage of the Strategic Defense Initiative, for example, has appeared to enable attentive readers to doubt whether the President's original proposal for space defense can work, the steady drip, drip, drip of news about S.D.I. has resulted in credibility through sheer repetition. To a degree, the government has made S.D.I. work, if only on front pages and in television graphics.

The press's only weapons against this tactic are the long takeouts. But because many news organizations are unwilling to assign these pieces, the task for reporters, then, is to provide greater perspective in the midst of breaking news. Two relatively modest approaches are worth considering: trying to define the administration's grand plan and comparing the administration's rhetoric with its activities.

Seeing the Forest for the Trees

Oddly, the press seems uninterested in focusing on the grand plan. Perhaps this is because administration statements so rarely address it, or because journalists think they can explain it between the lines in daily stories. Occasionally a tendril of the plan can be spied as it pushes up, crocus-like, through the rhetorical weeds. Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard N. Perle provided such an opportunity on February 1, when he spoke to NATO allies at the Wehrkunde Conference in Munich. Perle said that talk by governments of eliminating all nuclear weapons is "dangerous nonsense," and harshly criticized Western politicians who do not have the courage to admit it.

Although Perle was careful to state that he was speaking only for himself, the speed with which the administration moved away from loose talk about a nonnuclear world after Reykjavik indicates Perle's view was widely shared within the administration. Perle's speech offered journalists a chance to start compiling a policy primer. Perle was addressing a basic strategic question: Does the U.S. want to make sharp reductions in its arsenal of nuclear weapons or not? It is impossible to understand U.S. goals in INF negotiations, the value of S.D.I., the embrace of underground testing, or anything else without an answer to this question.

Yet Perle's speech was greeted with a yawn. *The New York Times* gave it eight inches and never followed up. Only papers that agreed with Perle opened up their pages to his speech. *The Wall Street Journal* printed an approving editorial and thirty inches of excerpts from the speech on its op-ed page February 6. *The Washing-*

(continued on page 6)

Some Who Did the Story Well: Winners of the 1987 Olive Branch Awards

The fourth annual Olive Branch Awards for outstanding coverage of nuclear issues, arms control, and U.S.-Soviet relations during 1986 were presented in New York in March. The Center for War, Peace, and the News Media co-sponsors the awards with the Editors' Organizing Committee and the Writers' and Publishers' Alliance for Nuclear Disarmament. Following are the winners, along with excerpts from their work.

Newspapers

The Los Angeles Times, for overall excellence. The newspaper was cited for "overall excellence" for the work of the Washington bureau, and the *Times'* Moscow, European, and White House correspondents. Arms control and national security correspondent Robert Toth accepted the award for the newspaper. In receiving it, Toth provided a measure of his own press criticism. "I think we can sometimes see that we [the media] take an uncritical attitude toward arms agreements and towards those who espouse arms control agreements," he said. "I think the media must be willing to point out the benefits of arms treaties in climates when national defense buildup is popular. At the same time, now, we must be ready to find flaws in treaties if they exist when the stampede toward new agreements is gaining momentum."

The Washington Post, for articles by Fred Hiatt. Hiatt, until September the *Post*'s Pentagon reporter, adeptly disputed administration claims when they appeared to conflict with information from other sources. One example is a story published on April 2, in which Hiatt contrasts administration statements of Soviet military supremacy with congressional testimony from the Department of Defense that showed U.S. superiority in fourteen of twenty key military technologies. In accepting the award, Hiatt discussed his attempts to compare official remarks with other assessments. "It is possible to cover arms control and national security, I think, in a way that's understandable to more than the two or three hundred people who those of us in Washington sometimes imagine as our audience on these arcane subjects," Hiatt said. "But it is more difficult to make it understandable. Not because the jargon is so hard to understand but because the jargon often masks assumptions which have to be challenged if you're going to make your piece literate."

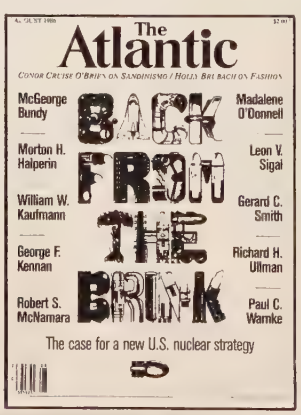
Television

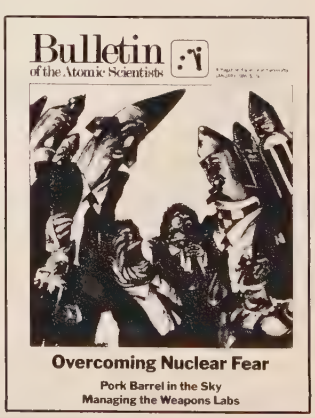
Cable News Network, for overall excellence. For providing intensive coverage of U.S.-Soviet relations and arms control issues in 1986, CNN was awarded an Ollie. Of special note is an ambitious thirty-part series on Eastern Europe by Stuart Loory, and a five-part series by Carl Rochelle examining the technological and political issues raised by Star Wars.

CBS News, for reports by Bernard Goldberg. A year ago, Goldberg went to the Soviet Union and returned with two background reports that aired at the time of the twenty-seventh Party Congress. The first, broadcast February 27, examines what Soviets think of Americans, and what they know about the U.S. Goldberg finds Dixieland jazz, Harold Robbins novels, school children with detailed knowledge of American history, and an American-style rock concert. "They are fascinated by us," Goldberg reports. "But it is a fascination tinged with fear—today's fear of nuclear war mixed with Russia's historic fear of foreigners." In the second segment, which aired March 4, he explains to his American audience what he understands to be a Soviet definition of freedom. Americans think "if only the Iron Curtain were lifted they'd be at the border in a New York minute," he reported. "Well, we'd be wrong. Incredible as it may sound, Soviets not only think they're free, but think they're freer than we are. . . . Freedom to most Russians is living in a country where the unemployment rate is zero, where state health care costs nothing, where nobody is homeless and where crime is not epidemic."

Magazines

The Atlantic, for an article by The Project on No First Use. Adopting a policy of no-first-use of nuclear weapons would improve the prospects for arms control, strengthen NATO's conventional capabilities, and encourage unity among the alliance's sixteen treaty partners, according to "Back From the Brink," the prizewinning article in *The Atlantic*'s August issue. Jointly written by some of the nation's leading arms control experts, including Paul Warnke, Gerard Smith, Leon Sigal, and Morton Halperin, the piece recommends that "the United States . . . base its military plans, training programs, defense budgets, weapons deployments, and arms negotiations on the assumption that it will not initiate the use of nuclear weapons."



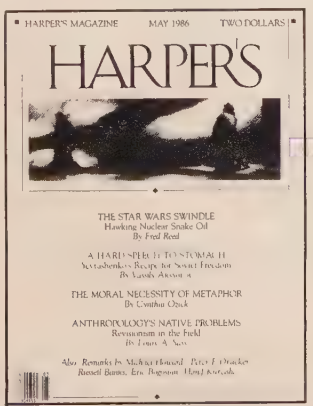


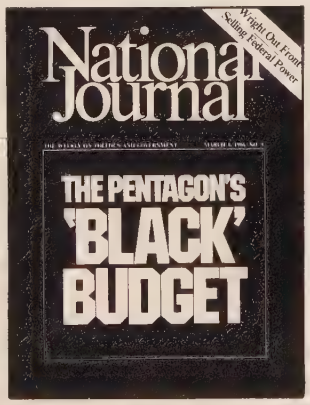
Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, for an article by Peter M. Sandman and JoAnn M. Valenti. The *Bulletin* was awarded an Olive Branch for a piece that explores the psychological factors that both encourage and restrict popular activism on nuclear issues. In their article "Scared Stiff—or Scared Into Action" in the *Bulletin*'s January issue, the authors describe how anti-nuclear movements differ from movements for social change. "Unlike traditional political recruiting whose goal is to generate concern," the authors write, "anti-nuclear recruiting must focus on reducing numbness."

Harper's Magazine, for an article by Fred Reed. Contributing editor Fred Reed, in "The Star Wars Swindle: Hawking Nuclear Snake Oil," analyzes the Reagan administration's Star Wars program in down-to-earth terms. "Star Wars isn't defense," Reed writes. "It is a lemmingesque stampede of dazed ideologues, yes, and a brilliant new bucket brigade to the Treasury, having for defense the import of orgone boxes or a swine flu crusade, which it otherwise closely resembles." An Olive Branch was awarded to *Harper's* for Reed's irreverent piece in the May issue.

National Journal, for an article by David C. Morrison. "Since the Reagan administration arrived in Washington five years ago," Morrison writes in a cover story for the *Journal* published March 1, "a steadily growing proportion of the Pentagon's budget has been funneled into highly classified programs—the so-called black budget." According to updated calculations, secret Pentagon spending is expected to rise to more than $24 billion in fiscal year 1988, a 341 percent increase over the $5.5 billion in 1981. Morrison uses the results of his analysis as a springboard for a penetrating discussion of the political implications of black-budget programs. An Olive Branch went to the *Journal* for Morrison's article, titled "Pentagon's Top Secret Black Budget Has Skyrocketed During Reagan Years."

The New Republic, for essays by Leon Wieseltier. Two essays dealing with the Strategic Defense Initiative, "Madder Than Mad" and "The Ungrand Compromise," were honored. "Ronald Reagan is not transcending MAD," Wieseltier writes in the May 12 issue, referring to the policy of mutual assured destruction. "He is celestializing it. . . . Forget the window of vulnerability. Ronald Reagan is giving us the skylight of vulnerability." In the second essay, published November 17, Wieseltier comments on the deal-that-almost-was at Reykjavik. "We started discussing whether we should have S.D.I. and arms control before we have finished discussing whether we should have S.D.I."





People Weekly, for a photographic essay by Jeff Share. The Great Peace March for Global Nuclear Disarmament received little attention in the national news media after its initial collapse for lack of funding. For devoting eleven pages in its October 27 issue to Share's photographs of the march, *People* was awarded an Ollie.

Science, for articles by David Dickson and R. Jeffrey Smith. For its ability to place the technological issues of defense debate into a context understandable to a general audience, *Science* was given an Olive Branch Award. Dickson's article in the issue of April 18, "Europeans Wary of U.S. Offer on Military R&D," and numerous articles by Smith, now with *The Washington Post*, were cited for incisive policy analysis.

The Sciences, for an article by Herbert L. Abrams. A professor of radiology at Stanford University, Abrams documents the high level of drug and alcohol abuse among armed services personnel who handle U.S. and Soviet nuclear weapons. In 1985 alone, more than 1,400

Finding the Black Numbers

Among the pieces that impressed the Olive Branch jurors was David C. Morrison's article on the Pentagon's secret "black" budget.

"Deriving the numbers," Morrison writes in a sidebar accompanying his article, "calls for little more than a reliable pocket calculator and a high tedium threshold."

An updated synopsis of Morrison's budget analysis is excerpted below. The table depicts the black portion of each budget category in millions of dollars. The defense agencies that receive black money are the Defense Intelligence Agency and the National Security Agency.

R&D	1981 Actual	1988 Request	% growth 1981–88
Army	$47.4	$918.3	1,837%
Navy	73.8	2,109.3	2,758%
Air Force	897.1	6,400.9	614%
Defense agencies	417.3	1,750.6	320%
Black R&D	**$1,435.6**	**$11,179.1**	**679%**
Total defense R&D	$16,633.5	$43,718.9	
Black percentage	**8.6%**	**25.6%**	
Procurement			
Army	$0.0	$146.6	—
Navy	0.0	27.8	—
Air Force	3,813.6	11,733.0	208%
Defense agencies	261.0	969.8	272%
Black procurement	**$4,074.6**	**$12,877.2**	**216%**
Total procurement	$47,767.5	$83,974.1	
Black percentage	**8.5%**	**15.3%**	
Construction			
Black construction	**$4.6**	**$253.7**	**5,415%**
Total construction	$5,467.8	$6,052.9	
Black percentage	**.001%**	**4.2%**	
Total black budget	**$5,514.8**	**$24,310.0**	**341%**

U.S. enlisted men and women lost their nuclear certification. *The Sciences* was awarded an Olive Branch for Abrams' article "Who's Minding the Missiles?" published in the July/August issue.

USA TODAY Magazine, for an article by Ted Glen Carpenter. The time has passed, Carpenter writes in the July issue of the magazine (which is unrelated to the newspaper of the same name), to assume that "America's perceived security needs are—or at least ought to be—shared by all other Western nations." For Carpenter's critical assessment of the Reagan administration's response to the New Zealand government's policy of denying access to U.S. nuclear-capable warships, *USA TODAY Magazine* was awarded an Ollie.

World Policy Journal, for an article by Michael Lucas. The implications of the Reagan administration's Star Wars program for Western Europe are evaluated in Lucas' article, "S.D.I. and Europe: Militarization or Common Security?" In the *Journal*'s spring issue, Lucas writes: "S.D.I. has come at a critical juncture in European politics, at a time when Europe has before it two opposing alternatives to continuing the current uneasy state of transatlantic relations: one of increasing militarization, and the other of deepened detente and common security. . . . S.D.I. could in the years ahead push Europe onto the path of increasing militarization at the expense not only of East-West security but of transatlantic relations as well."

Book

Blundering Into Disaster, a book by Robert S. McNamara. The former secretary of defense was awarded an Olive Branch for the year's outstanding book on the subject of world peace. "I do not believe we can avoid the serious and unacceptable risk of nuclear war," McNamara writes in the work (published by Pantheon Books in November), "until we recognize—and until we base all our military plans, defense budgets, weapons deployments, and arms negotiations on the recognition—that nuclear weapons serve no military purpose whatsoever. They are totally useless—except to deter one's opponent from using them."

What's New? What's True?

(continued from page 3)

ton Times also reprinted Perle's speech on the front page of its "Commentary" section. Obviously, a case can be made that nuclear weapons have prevented a direct confrontation between the U.S. and the Soviet Union and continue to have utility. If that is the administration's position, it ought to be argued publicly and repeatedly in the press. Reporters then could question the administration about which weapons it intends to retain, and why. So long as the press avoids these questions, coverage of arms control talks will seem to the public both endless and meaningless.

Deeds Not Words

A small group of arms control reporters has found another way to hold the government accountable. Instead of juggling, they have started comparing administration rhetoric with behind-the-scenes reality, spotlighting aspects of the grand plan amidst the breaking news.

A prime example is the response of *The Washington Post*'s Fred Hiatt to President Reagan's oft-repeated assurance that "No one can win a nuclear war, and such a war must never be fought." Throughout 1986 Hiatt produced a series of stories showing how the government is preparing to fight and prevail in a nuclear World War III. He described on July 27 how an estimated $20 billion had been spent on command, control, and communications systems intended to survive an attack, and how the President and other national leaders are to be protected during nuclear warfighting. In a related story on the same day, Hiatt described military equipment being designed to function in a "nuclear stressed environment." Hiatt, along with fellow *Post* reporter Rick Atkinson, also wrote about weapons systems designed to convert from conventional to nuclear capability, and about how such weapons would blur distinctions between the two types of war (June 15, 1986). He also took a serious look at the Federal Emergency Management Agency and its plan to protect local political leaders and property records during a nuclear war, while the public fends for itself (May 10, 1986).

In a similar vein, William Broad of *The New York Times* used his wide contacts with S.D.I. scientists to dramatize how splashy but meaningless tests were being promoted to confuse both the public and legislators about the likely near-term success of the research program (December 16, 1985). Don Oberdorfer of *The Washington Post* lingered long enough over the question of Soviet cheating to show that the issue hardly is as clear-cut as the administration claims (June 7, 1986). And Fred Kaplan of *The Boston Globe* discussed the different warfighting scenarios that worry both Soviet and American planners, an important article for understanding what sort of grand arms control strategy makes sense (November 5, 1985). Walter Pincus of *The Washington Post*, John Fialka of *The Wall Street Journal*, Michael Gordon of *The New York Times*, Robert Toth of *The Los Angeles Times*, and David Martin of CBS also occasionally free themselves from chasing what's new to question what might be true.

In the near future, the definition of "news" is not likely to change enough to permit the Hiatts, Broads, and Kaplans to set the tone for arms control coverage. But their work makes it clear that reporters best serve their papers, and the public, when they put aside what's new long enough to get at what's true in the arms control story.

DAVID M. RUBIN is co-director of the Center for War, Peace, and the News Media.

Wyoming's Press Covers the MX

by Michael Kirkhorn

Now and then the national press drops in to see how the citizens of Wyoming are responding to the presence of the multiple warhead MX, ten of which have been placed in hardened Minuteman III silos in the southeastern part of the state.

New York Times correspondent Thomas J. Knudson stopped by late last year to report that the installation of the missiles was met with a combination of indifference, patriotic boosterism, and edgy resignation that bordered on melancholy. In an article, written in advance of the deployment ("Worry-Free in Wyoming"), *Newsweek* reported that local opposition to the MX had abated. "I suppose it's a necessary evil," a clerk in a Cheyenne department store was quoted as saying. "It has to be somewhere."

The observations of the *Times* and *Newsweek* are corroborated in the articles and opinion pages of Wyoming's vibrant local press. Wyoming's editors have maintained a critical stance despite promises of jobs and appeals to patriotism. But four years after the Air Force announced its decision to base 50 MX here, many local editors have accepted the inevitable. "Nobody likes the idea of having MX," observed Bob Wilson, managing editor of the *Laramie Daily Boomerang*. "But by the same token, they have to go somewhere."

Conservative Critique

One paper exceptional in its persistently critical coverage of the MX is the *Casper Star-Tribune*, which, with a circulation of 37,000, is the biggest fish in Wyoming's pond of small-city newspapers. In a typical week the daily broadsheet covers the YMCA, muscular dystrophy fund drives, and meetings of the Casper Fiddle Club. The *Star* has a good sports section, pays close attention to the state legislature, and receives an unusually large number of letters from readers. Under the editorship of outspoken Richard High, the paper also has provided spirited editorial writing and hard-nosed reporting on the status of the MX.

Under the front-page headline, MX WORK FORCE ONLY ONE-THIRD EXPECTED NUMBER, the *Star-Tribune* reported in October that Laramie, one county where the MX is located, is not "experiencing the economic boom that had been projected." The government earlier had announced that more than 1,800 construction jobs would be generated by the missile system. The Air Force also encouraged Wyoming to consider building new schools and roads to accommodate an influx of some 8,000 new residents who—along with the MX—were to be based in the region. Neither the jobs nor the population boom materialized. In the words of High's competitor, Don Hurlburt, editor of the *Wyoming Eagle*, "the missiles are here, but the people aren't."

In an editorial that was critical of local officials, High concluded in the *Star-Tribune* that the economic benefits of basing the MX in Wyoming would not be offset by the cost of the missile system to the state's taxpayers. High's calculations lack refinement but they are provocative. By his accounting, Wyoming residents will pay more in federal taxes for the MX than they will receive from the government in MX-related local contracts. "Nobody said life is fair," High wrote. "But neither did anybody say Wyoming people have to encourage our political leaders to work against our state's own best interests."

In a related story, the *Star-Tribune* dispatched reporter Andrew Melnykovych to Washington, D.C. Melnykovych wrote that ten years hence, "mobile ballistic-missile launchers ... crisscrossing southeastern Wyoming" could be added to the growing list of Wyoming's strategic nuclear assets. Basing his report on a study by the Congressional Research Service, Melnykovych wrote that the Pentagon is considering placing Midgetman missiles, should they be approved, at Minuteman III bases. "On warning of attack," he wrote, Midgetman missiles would be shuttled "into the surrounding countryside" on hardened mobile launchers.

Melnykovych's piece on the Midgetman illustrates how, at their best, Wyoming newspapers have been able to broaden the debate for their readers from the issue of local economic benefits of the MX to larger questions of the United States' nuclear war-fighting strategy.

MICHAEL KIRKHORN, a Center Associate, is deputy director of the Science and Environmental Reporting Program at New York University.

Internships

The Center for War, Peace, and the News Media and its bimonthly publication, *Deadline*, are accepting internship applications for the summer and fall. Interns will assist the Center's staff in research on a variety of topics pertaining to news coverage of U.S.-Soviet relations, arms control, and nuclear issues. Normally, interns focus on a major research project and participate in the day-to-day work of the Center.

Interns for *Deadline* will provide assistance in research, writing, fact-checking, and other editorial aspects of the publication.

Applicants should have a strong background in arms control, international relations, Soviet studies, military affairs, or journalism. Academic credit with other institutions may be arranged.

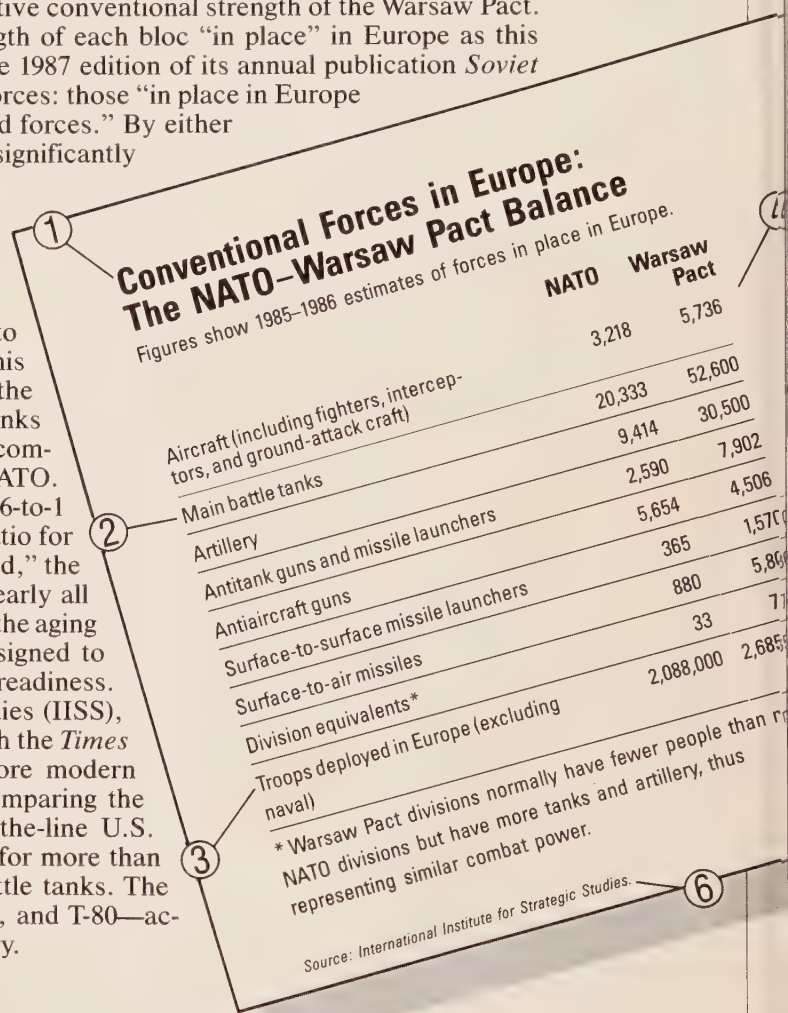
Send a resume, writing sample, and two recommendations to: Internship Coordinator, Center for War, Peace, and the News Media, 1021 Main Building, New York University, New York, N.Y. 10003.

What's in a Number?

by Lee Feinstein

Annotating the Conventional Balance in Europe

(1) Most comparisons of the nonnuclear forces of NATO and the Warsaw Pact offered by the news media depict the Soviet Union and its allies as having overwhelming conventional superiority. This conventional balance sheet, which *The New York Times* ran twice in the week after the Reykjavik summit, is no exception. It gives the East a better than 2-to-1 advantage in six of nine categories, including four in which the Warsaw Pact is shown to have more than a 3-to-1 edge. Compared with other official and unofficial assessments, however, this table overstates the relative conventional strength of the Warsaw Pact. For example, rather than compare the strength of each bloc "in place" in Europe as this table does, the Department of Defense, in the 1987 edition of its annual publication *Soviet Military Power*, compares two categories of forces: those "in place in Europe and rapidly deployable," and "fully reinforced forces." By either measure the imbalances shown here shrink significantly because this methodology takes into account the impressive mobility of American armed forces.



Conventional Forces in Europe: The NATO–Warsaw Pact Balance

Figures show 1985–1986 estimates of forces in place in Europe.

	NATO	Warsaw Pact
Aircraft (including fighters, interceptors, and ground-attack craft)	3,218	5,736
Main battle tanks	20,333	52,600
Artillery	9,414	30,500
Antitank guns and missile launchers	2,590	7,902
Antiaircraft guns	5,654	4,506
Surface-to-surface missile launchers	365	1,57(
Surface-to-air missiles	880	5,86(
Division equivalents*	33	7(
Troops deployed in Europe (excluding naval)	2,088,000	2,685(

* Warsaw Pact divisions normally have fewer people than r NATO divisions but have more tanks and artillery, thus representing similar combat power.

Source: International Institute for Strategic Studies.

(2) The Warsaw Pact is widely acknowledged to have an advantage in numbers of tanks. But this table inflates that superiority. According to the Department of Defense, the Pact has 32,000 tanks "in place in Europe or rapidly deployable" compared to 19,600 in the same category for NATO. This reduces the imbalance shown here from 2.6-to-1 in the Pact's favor to 1.6-to-1, an adequate ratio for NATO's defensive role. When "fully reinforced," the Pact's advantage increases to 2.1-to-1, but nearly all of the tanks accounting for this difference are the aging T-54, T-55, and T-62s, most of which are assigned to Soviet divisions maintained at a low state of readiness. The International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), the respected English organization from which the *Times* derived this table, reports U. S. tanks as more modern than the Soviets', an important factor in comparing the main battle tanks of the two blocs. Top-of-the-line U.S. tanks—the M-60 and M-1 Abrams—account for more than 12,000 of the United States' 14,000 main battle tanks. The Soviet Union's newest tanks—the T-64, T-72, and T-80—account for only one-third of the total inventory.

(3) NATO actually has an advantage in numbers of troops in the most important areas of Europe. As James Markham of *The New York Times* reported from Brussels one week after the summit: "With French troops NATO actually has a slight manpower edge, 1,034,000 to 975,000 in the region running from the English Channel to the eastern frontiers of Poland." In recent testimony before Congress on the conventional defense of Europe, Army Secretary John Marsh said, "I don't think it would require more people. . . . I think the numbers of people you have here are reasonably near what we need to have." Pact troop totals also include hundreds of thousands of railway, construction, and labor conscripts who perform functions normally carried out by civilians in NATO nations. Ellen Jones, an analyst at the Defense Intelligence Agency, addressed this question in a 1982 article in *International Security*. "Conscripts assigned to these units are provided with rudimentary military training," she wrote, "but are employed primarily in a non-combat support role."

④ "I'm absolutely sure we would take over the air in a week," Donald Fredericksen, deputy undersecretary of defense for tactical warfare programs, told the American Defense Preparedness Association in January. Fredericksen was referring to NATO's superiority in both quality of its aircraft and experience of its pilots. According to IISS, the U.S. has 1,700 premier fighters, F-15 and F-16s, in its inventory. Comparable Soviet aircraft such as the MiG29, MiG31, and Su27 are being deployed slowly, according to testimony of Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger given before Congress in February; in fact, IISS counts a total of only 158 in the most recent edition of *The Military Balance*. NATO pilots log three times more flying time than their Pact counterparts, a crucial measure of likely combat effectiveness.

⑤ Like many other such assessments, this table omits entirely a number of key qualitative and quantitative factors. It excludes naval force comparisons where NATO has a clear superiority, which could materially affect the outcome of any conflict in Europe. According to the Department of Defense, NATO has 443 major surface warships in the North Atlantic and "seas bordering Europe" compared to 227 for the Pact. Omitted, too, are the military forces of Spain, NATO's newest member, whose troops add 320,000 to NATO totals. Although not fully integrated into NATO's military structure, Spain is represented on NATO's Defense Planning Committee and has been active in virtually all NATO military functions. Important qualitative factors also have been omitted. Alliance cohesion is one. The disputes among NATO partners pale in comparison to the lack of cohesion among members of the Warsaw Pact. The Soviet Union "can never be certain that the forces or peoples of Eastern Europe will rally around a call from Moscow," the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe, said in January testimony before the Senate Armed Services Committee: "I suspect that this one uncertainty weighs most heavily on the minds of the Russian leaders." Considerations of economic strength also are absent. "Economic defense clearly favors the U.S. and its allies compared with the Warsaw Pact," Crowe testified, referring to a NATO gross national product double that of the Warsaw Pact. Other factors include: the quality of training provided to each bloc's troops; the relative technological capabilities of East and West; geographical considerations; the number and quality of reserve forces; and the impact of the contrasting military doctrines that would govern the use of each alliance's military forces.

⑤

⑥ Unlike the *Times*, IISS prefaced this accounting with a cautious essay that put these raw numbers in a very different perspective. "Assessing the balance between NATO and the Warsaw Pact . . . [involves] quite a large margin of uncertainty. . . . Our conclusion remains that the conventional military balance is still such as to make general military aggression a highly risky undertaking for either side. . . . There would still appear to be insufficient overall strength on either side to guarantee victory."

LEE FEINSTEIN is the executive editor of Deadline.
He was an analyst at the Center for Defense Information in Washington, D.C.

Letters

Defending Daniloff

To The Editor:

I am appalled at the willingness of Robert Karl Manoff and Tony Kaye ["A Closer Look at 'Hard-Working,' 'Exemplary' Nicholas Daniloff," *Deadline* November/December 1986] to give currency to unfounded rumors and superficial judgments about Nick Daniloff.

Mr. Daniloff was coming to the end of a five-and-a-half-year distinguished tour of duty in Moscow. As anybody who knows him can verify, he was doing research on a book about his family history in the Soviet Union and was going to take a six-month leave of absence to write. Fortunately, the book-publishing world recognized Mr. Daniloff's particular skills and made it possible for Nick to take a one-year leave of absence, after which time we look forward to him rejoining the magazine.

Mortimer B. Zuckerman
Chairman, Editor-in-Chief
U.S. News & World Report
Washington, D.C.

To The Editor:

In justifying your critique of Nick Daniloff's reporting, you have twice referred to a telegram that the heads of major media organizations sent to the Soviet leadership describing Daniloff as an "exemplary journalist" who was wrongly detained for spying. Somehow that word "exemplary" inflamed your two writers. I wrote the text of that telegram and if I had known the trouble it was going to cause, I might have settled for calling Daniloff "principled" or "legitimate."

In drafting the telegram, I based my conclusion largely on the way Daniloff conducted himself in Moscow. He constantly asked probing, thoughtful questions at press conferences and embassy briefings, spoke excellent Russian, had better contacts than most of us and, in conversation, displayed a sophisticated and often sympathetic understanding of Soviet society. The point of calling him "exemplary" was to underline that, in the opinion of American news executives, his conduct was above reproach.

What upset me most about the piece on Daniloff was that it confirmed my suspicion, after reading a half-dozen copies of your journal, that you are constantly looking for ways to find fault with the Reagan administration and the American news media, while giving the Soviets a free ride. This attitude shows a certain contempt for the other side. The underlying assumption is that their behavior is irremediable—a constant—while ours can be changed for the better with sufficient prodding.

Your most recent issue seemed more ideologically neutral than some of the earlier ones, so perhaps you are on a corrective course. I hope so, because you have a useful function to perform if you choose to discard your own obvious biases.

Donald Kimelman
Editorial Board
(Moscow Correspondent
1983–1986)
Philadelphia Inquirer
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Robert Karl Manoff replies: We thank Mortimer B. Zuckerman for his account of Nicholas Daniloff's relations with *U.S. News & World Report*. Donald Kimelman's clarification also is welcome, although it does not alter our judgments of Daniloff's reporting. His conduct may have been uppermost in the minds of his defenders, but they proceeded to make their case for him by characterizing his work. In our view, this made a study of reporting important in order to understand better the standards the profession is applying to reporting from Moscow. There was no question, here or elsewhere, of giving the Soviets a free ride. As a matter of fact, the Center co-sponsored a major conference last spring precisely to engage Soviet journalists in a discussion of their work [see "There Aren't Poor Questions, Only Poor Answers," *Deadline*, July/August 1986] and we are presently engaged in other activities bearing on the problems of Soviet journalism.

On Unnamed Sources

To The Editor:

I would like to comment on one of the first and most interesting articles you've published: "Consider the Source: A Survey of National Security Reporters," by David M. Rubin [*Deadline*, March/April 1986]. It's an ingenious examination that alerts media audiences to the hazards in unattributed material and works as an exhortation to reporters and editors to push harder for attribution.

But the article ignores the realities of daily reporting and one of the major strengths of journalism in a democracy: the freedom and the ability of reporters to push beyond sources who are willing to be named, to evaluate "leaked" material, and to dig hard and swiftly for useful information from individuals whose positions all too often make attribution impossible.

It's not true that "laziness" is what prevents reporters from naming names. How many unattributed sources have enabled the press to inform Americans about the squalid and mysterious details of the Iran-Contra arms mess?

An article by Elizabeth Drew in the December 29 issue of *The New Yorker* is instructive. Drew's perceptive examination of the biggest continuing political story in America would have placed her at the very bottom of your "Sourcing Habits" list—but wrongly so.

Consider her sources. Five are named and quoted: Representative Dick Cheney, the Wyoming Republican; Caspar Weinberger; Larry Speakes; Elliott Abrams, and Oliver North.

But Drew also cited no fewer than 31 other sources without specific attribution. Among them: "an official"; "a number of people here"; "someone who served Reagan in the past"; "an important House Republican"; "one family friend." Because Drew is unquestionably a tenacious, knowledgeable, and scrupulously honest reporter, no one can doubt that she talked to all those unnamed people to acquire their knowledge or useful opinions.

It is true that stories relying on unattributed sources often can miss the mark. But men and women who speak from official or unofficial positions—on the record and for attribution—are by no means invariably reliable either. Attributed sources, too, can and often do use what Rubin calls "hit-and-run tactics" to serve their own interests.

The assurance of intelligent, informed, accurate reporting in any news story lies not in whether a sourced is named, but in the integrity and persistence of reporters and their editors.

David Perlman
Science Editor (On leave)
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David M. Rubin replies: How is a reader to assess the accuracy and importance of an Elizabeth Drew article? David Perlman suggests: "Trust me, trust my unnamed sources." But how many readers can assess the track record of daily journalists on the arms control beat? And when was the last time Drew or any other reporter admitted that unnamed sources had led them astray? Never. Time and again the stories that matter are the stories with names attached: Ed Meese on the Iran-Contra connection; John Dean on Watergate; Richard Perle on why nuclear weapons are not going to be eliminated. Blind quotes serve journalists on deadline and officials with a hidden agenda. They rarely serve the public.

Public Knowledge Update

by Jay Rosen

"Arms control involves scientific and technical issues that many Americans do not understand," John M. Goshko has written in *The Washington Post*. Yet polls continue to ask for opinions on subjects journalists recognize the public knows little about. Far too few polls allow respondents to opt out of a question by declaring that they don't know enough about an issue to have an opinion. When a poll does provide that option, others often will ignore the results.

A case in point: A CBS/*New York Times* poll conducted in November 1986 asked Americans if they approved of Ronald Reagan's decision to cease observing limits in the SALT II treaty. The poll included as one possible answer the phrase, "haven't heard enough." It was a wise option to include, since a majority (53 percent) chose it. Twenty-four percent approved of exceeding SALT II limits; 20 percent disapproved and 3 percent had no opinion. The level of self-confessed ignorance wasn't surprising, given the results of a May 1984 Public Agenda Foundation study. The PAF found that 90 percent of Americans don't know that SALT II was signed but not ratified.

Neither the CBS/*NYT* nor the foundation's findings could have been on the minds of those who designed the Harris poll in February of this year. Harris asked Americans if they agreed with Congress, which wants the U.S. to continue to observe SALT II limits, or with the President, who does not. The poll did not ask respondents if they knew enough to voice an opinion. The results: 56 percent sided with Congress, 30 percent with the President, and 13 percent were unsure. The 13 percent figure understates by 40 percent the portion of the public who told CBS and the *Times* that they didn't know much about the issue.

A general rule is this: Given the chance, many people will decline to answer questions about which they have little knowledge. If not given the chance, they will come up with an opinion on the spot. In effect, then, news media which fail to test for knowledge in their polls are manufacturing opinion.

Organizations with a political agenda may do so intentionally. The Committee on the Present Danger, which has opposed SALT II for years, asked a question on the treaty in a poll it commissioned last July. The question began by furnishing the knowledge the Public Agenda Foundation had found missing in 1984. "SALT II is a nuclear arms agreement that was never ratified by the U.S.," the question read. It went on to say that the U.S. had been abiding by the treaty's terms. Then came the kicker: the President recently announced that "because the Soviets have violated the terms of SALT II the U.S. would no longer be bound by it," the question read. Do you agree with the President's decision, the Committee wanted to know. Seventy percent agreed, 22 percent disagreed, and a scant 8 percent said they didn't know.

That the Committee's wording skewed the question in Reagan's favor is fairly obvious. More subtle is the distortion inherent in providing the knowledge necessary to have an opinion. Why would a poll furnish such knowledge unless its sponsors were concerned about widespread public ignorance? In this case the fear was well-founded. Pollsters and journalists should recognize that fact. *The Washington Times* didn't. On August 21, 1986, it reported the results of the Committee's poll enthusiastically. To its credit, however, the paper quoted James Rubin, an analyst for the Arms Control Association (which backs SALT II), who stated that other polls demonstrated support for the treaty.

But balancing the Committee's results with Rubin's observations fails to address the poll's principal flaw. One of the reasons that poll results on an issue such as SALT II can diverge so widely is that pollsters include the opinions of many who either don't know or haven't thought much about an issue. The real problem lies not in the reporting of particular opinions, but in the fabrication of the opinions themselves. That is a problem the press, a major sponsor of polls, has yet to address.

Jay Rosen, a Center Associate, is an Assistant Professor of Journalism and Mass Communication at New York University.

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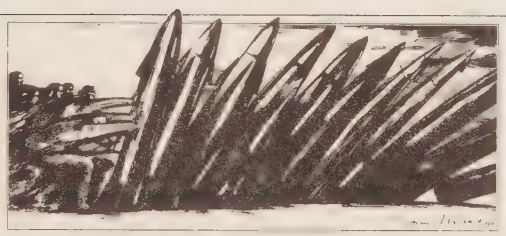

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Seoul's defense establishment, believe that American nuclear strategy in Korea is wholly unilateral. In fact, the South Korean and U.S. militaries meet informally to discuss nuclear war plans. This briefing is necessary because South Korean forces would apparently be used in a nuclear attack. According to the "Organization and Functions Manual," the "American Weapons Support Detachment-Korea" provides the U.S. commander with "nuclear support teams prepared to fire nuclear weapons using Republic of Korea weapon systems."

Some American analysts believe that such South Korean participation in preparations and plans for nuclear war contradicts American nuclear non-proliferation policy in Korea.

If the United States launched a nuclear attack on North Korea, which has no nuclear weapons, the war would likely spill over into a nuclear exchange between Soviet and American Pacific fleets. This nuclear shoot-out near the Soviet coast would escalate rapidly to a global war. And even if the Kremlin stayed out of the war, millions of Koreans would die in U.S. nuclear attacks.

The United States faces fewer constraints on the use of its nuclear weapons in Korea and the Pacific than in Europe, where it must consult with a host of allies in the multilateral framework of NATO. In contrast, the United States is linked to its Pacific allies via a network of bilateral treaties. As U.S. Army Chief General Edward Meyer said while on a visit to Seoul in 1980, escalation to nuclear war is "far simpler here than in Europe where consultations have to be made with 15 different sovereign nations."

Furthermore, the concerns of European elites are tied to the United States by deep historical and cultural ties, ties that Asian elites lack. Whether at sea or in the U.S.-controlled Demilitarized Zone in Korea, American actions are virtually unilateral.

Nuclear Bloc in the Pacific

While they seldom have veto power, Pacific allies are crucial to U.S. military strategy in the region. Allies host the forward bases and ports that allow the United States to project nuclear power to every corner of Pacific Command's vast domain. Politically and militarily, allies form a regional U.S.-led anti-Soviet bloc undergirded by U.S. nuclear weapons.

Since the late 1970s, the United States has called on its allies to throw reinvigorated military support behind U.S. nuclear leadership. Joint exercises such as Team Spirit, a U.S.-Korea practice war against North Korea, have increased dramatically. In 1984, 207,000 troops participated in Team Spirit. Another exercise, the Rim of the Pacific (RIMPAC) brings together forces from Canada, Japan, Australia and the United States to bomb the island of Kaho'olawe in Hawaii.

Pacific allies have also been called upon to receive an increasing number of visiting U.S. nuclear warships. Aimed at the Soviet Union or other adversary, warships are an important aspect of American "coercive diplomacy," a flexible way to assert "presence" and convey "interest," all the while signifying the power of the Bomb—"the teeth," as the Chinese say, "behind the lips."

With its commitments and priorities expanding around the globe, the United States is also pressing its allies—especially Japan—to "share the burden" and take a larger security role in the region. After years of U.S. pressure to rearm, the substantial Japanese military has abandoned the fiction of a purely defensive posture and has agreed to take on three U.S. global-security tasks.

First, Japan is to patrol a 1,000-mile range of the Pacific and control two "sea lanes of communication" that extend from Tokyo to Guam and from Osaka to the Philippines. To fulfill this task, Japan is building a large, ocean-going navy.

While Japanese politicians claimed that sea-lane defense is aimed to protect vital Japanese oil imports, the U.S. Joint Chiefs of Staff bluntly asserted in 1982 that it was "part of the U.S. global strategy against the Soviet Union." The chiefs insisted that "the Japanese capability to defend the said waters was essential to the whole of the free world."

The second strategic task requires Japan to prepare for war with North Korea or the Soviet Union. While deliberations are secret, U.S.-Japan defense guidelines call for studies of increased Japanese involvement in U.S. operations planning, intelligence gathering and logistical support. This will likely mean unrestricted U.S. access to Japanese bases and ports, including the transit of nuclear weapons.

Japan's third new task is to help block Soviet naval and air attacks on U.S. forces. To bottle up the Soviet fleet in its Far East bases, the Japanese Navy is to mine and blockade the three straits between the Sea of Japan and the Pacific. Japanese forces are also to intercept Soviet Backfire bombers chasing U.S. aircraft carriers. During a state visit to the United States in 1983, Japanese Prime Minister Yasuhiro Nakasone declared that Japan "should be like an unsinkable aircraft carrier putting up a tremendous bulwark of defense against the infiltration of the Backfire bomber."

Even though domestic sentiment continues to run strongly against rearmament, Nakasone has succeeded in boosting Japan's military spending, which even surpassed the symbolic one percent of the country's Gross National Product (GNP) in 1986. [The 1 percent of GNP is largely an accounting fiction. In reality, Japan's military absorbs about 1.6 percent of its GNP.]

Nakasone's office-holding days are numbered. Without the presence of his enormous popularity, it is likely that debate about Japan's emerging global strategic role within the ruling Liberal Democratic Party will become more fractious. While the anti-nuclear Japanese Socialist Party suffered a major setback in the 1986 election, a popular anti-nuclear movement continues to challenge Japan's new role and demand non-alignment.

Not all the other allies, moreover, have fallen in line. New Zealand rejected the nuclear strategy altogether, electing a government in July 1984 that pledged to keep out nuclear warships [see article, page 23]. As a result, the United States threw New Zealand out of ANZUS, its trilateral alliance with Australia.

While most allied governments have acquiesced, the aggressive U.S. nuclear build-up has fueled opposition parties and popular movements committed to leading their nations out of an alliance with the United States. Furthermore, even allies that support the United States have been forced to wonder if the over-extended U.S. forces provide a credible security shield—or whether they simply increase the risk that the allies would be dragged into a U.S.-Soviet nuclear war.

Nuclear Escalation

We're not General Motors; we don't have a profit and loss column every month. The only way we can tell whether we're doing a good job is to go to war and see if we win or lose, and wars don't come along that often. That's a hell of a handicap to work under.

—Admiral William Crowe, commander-in-chief Pacific, 1984; now chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff

The presence of American forces strewn across the Pacific and Indian Oceans signals a U.S. appetite for military intervention. Partly sustained by bureaucratic rivalry between the Navy and Army, the build-up has left hardly a Pacific beach untouched. "We have plenty of forces," asserted former Marine Major General Bernard Trainor in 1984, "for force projection into the Third World."

U.S. Target Practice in the North Pacific

The North Pacific islands of Micronesia sit on the frontlines of nuclear war.

Wrested from Japan in World War II, Micronesia was controlled by the United States after the war through a United Nations "Strategic Trust" territory mandate. Rather than promote economic or social development, the United States used the islands to further its nascent nuclear weapons program. Between 1946 and 1958, the United States tested 66 nuclear bombs in the Marshall Islands, vaporizing entire islands and exposing islanders to radiation. The biggest test was "Bravo," a hydrogen bomb explosion on March 1, 1954. Conducted under adverse wind conditions, Bravo sprinkled radioactive fallout on hundreds of islanders, U.S. servicemen and Japanese fishermen.

In 1959, the Marshalls were again pressed into military service when the United States established the Kwajalein Missile Range (KMR) to act as the "catcher's mitt" for missiles launched from Vandenberg Air Force Base on the California coast. Travelling at 10,000 miles per hour, the missiles splash down in Kwajalein's lagoon only 30 minutes after launching.

KMR has been the test site for virtually all U.S. intercontinental and submarine-launched ballistic missiles, including the MX. It is also a test site for the Strategic Defense Initiative, or "Star Wars" program.

To make way for KMR, the islanders were relocated to the nearby island of Ebeye. More than 8,000 Marshallese live on Ebeye's 78 acres, the highest population density on earth. Unemployment averages 40 percent and health conditions are so poor that Ebeye has been called a "biological time bomb." In a kind of "atomic apartheid," Marshallese are not allowed to live on Kwajalein and can only visit with a pass.

Elsewhere in Micronesia, 40 years of U.S. trusteeship have brought welfarism and little development. Government is the biggest employer and U.S. appropriations account for 90 percent of territorial government budgets. Most islands have five miles or less of paved road. Some islands are a health disaster area, where tuberculosis and leprosy exist in epidemic proportions.

By the early 1960s, islander opposition and international criticism prompted U.S. moves to dismantle the trust and establish a semblance of self-rule. When pressure mounted for independence, the United States split Micronesia into four entities and began separate negotiations with each.

The Northern Marianas, which surround the strategic island of Guam, opted for commonwealth status. The other three island groups—Palau, the Federated States, and the Marshalls—have each negotiated a Compact of Free Association with the United States. Under the compact concept, the islands control domestic affairs while the United States retains unrestricted authority over external affairs. The agreement, in short, allows the United States to continue to use Micronesia as a strategic colony, including the right to deny foreign access to three million square miles of island waters.

The Marshalls and the Federated States approved the compact in 1983, but the U.S. Congress did not follow suit until January of this year because of Palau's refusal to fall in line with the other two island groups.

In 1979, the people of Palau overwhelmingly approved a constitution prohibiting nuclear weapons in Palaun land and water, except by the approval of 75 percent of the voters. Since the United States insists on its right to use nuclear weapons to "defend" Palau, the constitution contradicts the compact and has held up any final agreement. Repeated plebescites on the compact have failed to garner the required 75 percent vote to amend the constitution.

On December 2, 1986, in the seventh referendum in seven years, Palauans reaffirmed their nuclear-free constitution with only a 66 percent vote for the compact. Reversing a trend toward increased compact support, the most recent vote suggests that Palau will remain a key obstacle to American plans to legitimize its control of Micronesia. □

But Pacific allies and even some American military analysts recognize that the United States has spread itself thin. American forces are embroiled in Korea, where a war is waiting to happen. In the next decade, other likely Pacific hot spots include the Philippines, Pakistan, the Middle East, and East and Southern Africa. Even with the recent build-up, the United States simply does not have the resources to field sufficient troops for multiple, simultaneous interventions.

The problem of acute overextension has plagued the United States in the Pacific during the whole post-World-War-II period. With one loss in China, one draw in Korea and one defeat in Vietnam on the U.S. scoreboard, Pacific allies and the American military have discovered that simply rounding up an international posse will not necessarily defeat its enemies.

To make up for the shortfall in American forces, the Cold Warriors lean heavily on allies and most of all, brandish the nuclear threat. With this strategy firmly in place, it is unlikely that a changeover to a Democratic administration will prompt a different direction.

The Marines' Trainor explained in 1984 what the end result of this strategy may be: "Given what's happening with the Soviets in their force projection, we probably at some point in our lifetime will clash with them.

"Now there are enormous dangers involved with that," he added. "Both sides know the dangers of escalation. It will probably be an unintended clash, and when it happens, there will be a rush on the part of both sides and the rest of the world that is so nervous about the two elephants bumping and getting stamped."

Trapped between the two elephants, Pacific nations are nervous indeed, since, as an old Malaysian proverb says, "When the elephants fight, the grass is trampled."

Charting a New Pacific

The United States and the Soviet Union do not dance on an empty stage in the Pacific theater. The peoples and nations of the region are deeply entangled in superpower strategy, hosting forward-deployed military forces and receiving visiting warships.

Nuclear threats and entrenched colonialism have sparked a broad-based regional movement committed to demilitarization and independence. Loosely coordinated through periodic conferences, the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement (NFIP) encompasses a host of local, national and regional initiatives. The anti-bases campaign in the Philippines [see article, page 18], a growing anti-nuclear

movement in Korea, Palau's fight for its nuclear-free constitution [see article, page 22], the Kanak independence struggle in New Caledonia, New Zealand's stand against nuclear warships and the region-wide Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas are only the most visible.

The NFIP envisions a non-aligned and non-nuclear Pacific based on strong regional institutions. The most promising path to reducing the risk of nuclear war, while preserving regional peace, independence and security, is collective action by Pacific nations, especially American allies.

Acting in concert, Pacific nations can reduce the nuclear threat in the Pacific by pressuring the superpowers to separate and disengage their nuclear forces. Since conventional and nuclear forces are deeply integrated, disengagement means withdrawing all offensive superpower forces from the region.

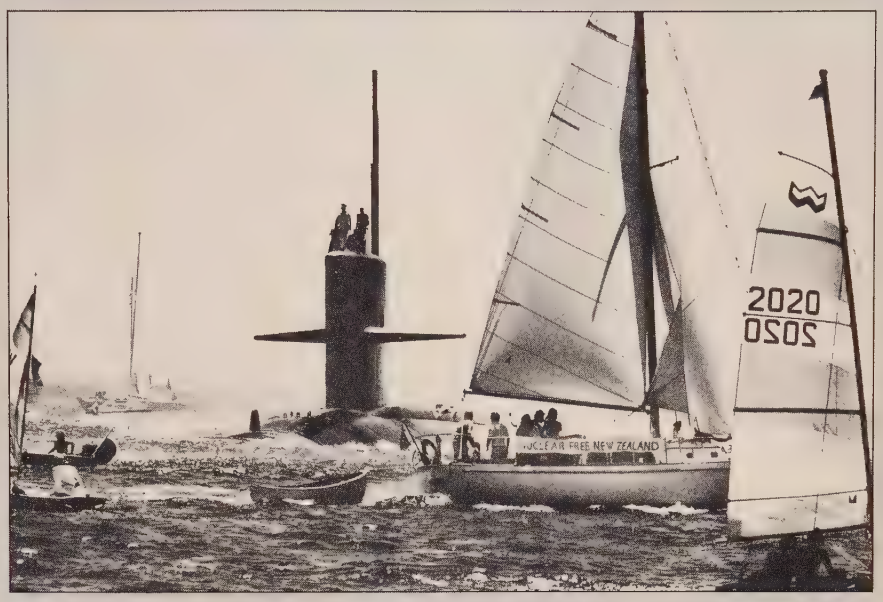
To achieve this objective, Pacific nations will have to enhance their role in the region's political and military affairs. Soviet or American nuclear allies can apply pressure on the superpowers to disengage by posting "Not Welcome" signs for all nuclear forces and creating nuclear-free and non-intervention zones.

Popular movements and some Pacific states already have taken important steps in this direction. Some states have closed their ports to nuclear warships and established national and local nuclear-free zones. Others have proposed zones of neutrality in Southeast Asia and the Indian Ocean and a nuclear-free zone in the South Pacific. The creation of a nuclear-free zone is most urgent in Korea and the Northwest Pacific, where American and Soviet nuclear forces directly confront each other.

Changes in U.S. Pacific policy would reinforce regional initiatives. Willingness to talk with the Soviets—to accept Gorbachev's recent proposal for a regional disarmament conference, for example, or to undertake Pacific arms control negotiations—would help loosen the diplomatic deadlock. With no arms control agreements or negotiations, the Pacific is currently a "nuclear frontier." Signing the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty would also signal U.S. sensitivity to regional concerns.

The alternatives are starkly defined. One is a Pacific with heightened tension and risk, possibly culminating in scorched, radiating islands and poisoned waters. The other is a new Pacific forged by people reaching across the ocean, from Manila to Suva, from Seoul to San Francisco, to form a regional community free from the threat of nuclear war. □

Rocking the Boat in the South Pacific



The nuclear-powered *USS Pintado* submarine blockaded by the Auckland, New Zealand Peace Squadron in January 1978, six years before the ban.

American nuclear strategy has alienated its South Pacific allies. In July 1984, New Zealand announced its intention to ban all nuclear-powered or nuclear-armed warships from its ports by electing as prime minister David Lange, who had promised in his campaign to keep nuclear weapons out of the country. The ban on nuclear ships was tested in early 1985, when the *USS Buchanan* was refused port entry because the United States would not confirm the absence of nuclear weapons on board.

Fearing that the "Kiwi disease" might spread to Australia, Japan and even Europe, the United States has been curtailing military relations with New Zealand, even though Lange wishes to remain in the ANZUS alliance. The problem for the Cold Warriors is that nuclear and conventional forces are deeply entwined. "We have only one Navy," emphasized Paul Wolfowitz, a senior State Department official, "not one conventionally-capable Navy and one nuclear-capable Navy."

This summer the New Zealand Parliament will vote on legislation that would turn Lange's executive order banning nuclear ships into law. Presidential elections are scheduled for September, and even though Lange is in trouble on economic issues, it is likely that the enormous popularity of the nuclear ban will survive a change of government.

Besides its frontal attack on Lange, the United States recently undercut Australian Prime Minister Robert Hawke by refusing to sign the South Pacific Nuclear Free Zone Treaty. Proposed by Hawke and approved by the 14-nation South Pacific Forum, the zone is aimed primarily at France and would leave U.S. nuclear operations in the South Pacific untouched. While nuclear testing, storage and dumping would be banned in an area of the Pacific that includes all French-held islands but excludes U.S.-held Micronesia, the transit of nuclear-powered and nuclear-armed warships, as well as testing of nuclear weapon delivery systems would be permitted.

Hawke proposed the zone to quell domestic opposition and enhance his regional diplomatic stature. The Soviet Union has signed the relevant protocols and China has indicated that it will sign. The U.S. refusal to sign—due to its partnership with France—belittles Hawke and will likely fuel peace movement demands for non-alignment. □

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Thinking Globally, Acting Locally

City Hall diplomats are bypassing the federal government and conducting their own foreign policy.

BY JEB BRUGMANN & MICHAEL SHUMAN

In Cambridge, Massachusetts, peace has become a backyard issue. Today, the city's Peace Commission spends $20,000 per year on such activities as educating citizens on arms control, becoming a sister city with Yerevan in Soviet Armenia, providing sanctuary for Central American refugees and encouraging local military contractors to diversify.

Cambridge is merely one of more than 1,000 local governments in the United States that have become involved in foreign affairs. These "municipal foreign policies," once dismissed as trivial, symbolic initiatives coming from a few radical towns, have become increasingly mainstream. Mayors Dianne Feinstein of San Francisco, Andrew Young of Atlanta and Charles Royer of Seattle, for example, have all actively involved their cities in international trade, Soviet-American relations and arms control. Mayors Harold Washington of Chicago and Tom Bradley of Los Angeles have helped their cities become sanctuaries for Guatemalan and Salvadoran refugees.

These municipal initiatives have had an increasing impact on U.S. foreign policy:

- More than 900 local governments passed a nuclear freeze resolution and pressured Ronald Reagan—the only U.S. president in the nuclear age to enter office on a platform condemning arms control—to begin the START negotiations in Geneva.
- By refusing to cooperate with the Federal Emergency Management Agency's "crisis relocation planning," more than 120 cities helped put FEMA's civil defense program to pasture.
- And by divesting more than $20 billion in assets from firms doing business in South Africa, more than 70 cities and 19 states have helped persuade the federal government to replace "constructive engagement" with serious economic sanctions.

Throughout the United States—indeed, throughout the world—people have begun harnessing their local governments to promote global peace. "Local governments are unusually independent political animals," says Larry Agran, mayor of Irvine, California, a high-tech community in ultraconservative Orange County.

Agran currently serves as executive director of Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility (LEO/SR), a coalition of more than 600 mayors, city council members and county supervisors dedicated to using their offices to reverse the arms race. Founded in 1982 to promote the nuclear freeze within the National League of Cities, LEO/SR has sponsored workshops in a dozen states educating hundreds of local officials on how the arms race is bankrupting America's cities and how cities can respond constructively.

A recent LEO/SR mailing states: "Sept. 25, 1986 . . . Congress kills General Revenue Sharing aid to cities ($3.4 billion) . . . Oct. 15, 1986 . . . Congress funds President's 'Star Wars' again ($3.5 billion) . . . Who says the military budget isn't a local issue?"

Local officials have also gotten involved in the peace movement because they recognize that it is their buildings and their people that are being held hostage in the name of national security. Some have begun quoting noted economist Kenneth Boulding's memorable quip, "Cities of the world unite. You have nothing to lose but your slums, your poverty and your military expendability."

In a keynote address to the 1985 Congress of the National League of Cities, Los Angeles Mayor Bradley offered a third reason "cities have no choice but to assume a larger role in the debate over great national issues." As the "lightning rods of frustration and despair that are borne of ill-conceived national policies," he urged, "cities can enfranchise many who might otherwise never be heard."

With these rationales, American cities have found a variety of new, exciting ways to promote peace:

- New York City and Milwaukee high schools now teach peace studies courses, San Francisco and Boulder have produced and disseminated pamphlets arguing for a nuclear freeze, and the California Department of Education has appropriated money for every local school district to assess and develop curricula for teaching grade school and high school courses about "nuclear age problems."
- Undaunted by the absence of nationally-funded peace research programs, states such as California and New Jersey have established their own peace programs, and cities such as Los Angeles, Pittsburgh and Baltimore have passed ordinances requiring their staffs to prepare and publish annual reports on the economic impacts of military spending.
- To educate fellow citizens and lobby national officials, 176 communities have passed nonbinding resolutions supporting a comprehensive test ban.
- Through their zoning powers, the cities

Jeb Brugmann is director of the City of Cambridge Peace Commission and field coordinator for Local Elected Officials for Social Responsibility. Michael Shuman, an attorney, is president of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy and the author of Citizen Diplomats: Pathfinders in Soviet American Relations *(New York: Continuum, 1987).*

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of Chicago and Cambridge, Massachusetts have launched projects to assist military contractors in alternative-use planning, and 3,000 communities internationally (more than 130 in the United States) have tried to zone out nuclear weapons manufacturing, deployment and transportation.

- With states and cities spending $500 billion annually and overseeing $300 billion in investments, they are increasingly recognizing their power in selective contracting and investing; Hoboken, New Jersey and Marin County, California are among a growing number of jurisdictions prohibiting any municipal contracts with or investments in firms producing nuclear weapons.
- To demystify the threat of potential U.S. adversaries, 759 American cities have established 1,120 sister city relationships, 18 of which are with cities in the Soviet Union, and 38 with cities in China.
- To strengthen the economic rationale for avoiding war, more than 180 U.S. cities are actively promoting economic city-to-city ties abroad, many with the Soviet Union and China. In 1984, for example, San Francisco Mayor Feinstein signed a trade pact with the Chinese province of Shanghai.
- To challenge U.S. military involvement in Central America, more than 20 states and cities have formal programs with cities in Nicaragua; Burlington, Vermont arranged for a ship to carry 560 tons of supplies to its sister city in Puerto Cabezas, including 30 tons of medical supplies the city collected from local hospitals.
- To link up with activist cities abroad, a half-dozen American mayors joined 100 mayors in Hiroshima in 1985 for the First World Conference of Mayors for Peace through Inter-City Solidarity.

While cities have generally been content to act issue by issue, a few cities have begun to recognize the importance of creating local institutions for dealing with foreign affairs—institutions that might be called "municipal state departments."

One approach, taken not only by Cambridge but also by Washington, D.C.; Boulder County in Colorado; and Eugene, Oregon, has been to create peace commissions. Cambridge Peace Commission co-founder Mark Levine remembers well the skeptical response he received from local activists in 1982 when he first proposed that they institutionalize their activities in City Hall. "It seemed we had to overcome decades of alienation between activists and government," he recalls.

Today, the Cambridge Peace Commission has involved citizens of all stripes: conservatives and liberals, white- and blue-collar workers, and war veterans and activists. With programs covering youth gang violence as well as international issues, the Peace Commission has demonstrated how institutionalization can help the peace movement overcome its left-fringe and white, middle-class orientation.

Another, broader approach to institutionalization has been taken by Seattle, which recently created an Office of International Affairs to coordinate its trade, tourism, and 13 sister cities, which include Tashkent in the Soviet Union and Managua in Nicaragua. In its first year, the office has four staff members overseeing a $250,000 budget. Similar offices also exist in New York, San Francisco, Los Angeles, Houston and Boston.

Cities in other countries also have committed substantial resources for foreign policy. Sydney, Australia, for example, promotes nuclear-free zones through a secretariat in its town hall. Vancouver, British Columbia spends up to $100,000 each year for a Walk for Peace and a Peace Festival; it also has raised millions of dollars for relief programs in the Third World. In Western Europe, 500 cities have established formal links with towns in the Third World and provide development assistance to them.

These examples suggest how institutionalization within local government can give the peace movement substantially greater resources, legitimacy and power. If every peace group convinced its local government to spend 1 percent of its budget on peace-related activities, the total amount of money spent on peace in the United States would increase many times over. Mayors also could help the peace movement gain access to leaders abroad. That eight American mayors convinced the Soviet Union in early 1986 to allow 36 people to emigrate after so many private and federal initiatives failed can be attributed largely to the legitimacy of their offices.

The way in which the environmental movement moved from the fringes to the mainstream of U.S. politics offers an important example for the peace movement. Today, the peace movement is little more than a loose network of 7,000 organizations, most with tiny budgets and marginal influence over policy. This is what the environmental movement looked like in the 1950s and early 1960s. But in the late 1960s and 1970s, the environmental movement began to inject itself in government bodies. At the national level, it created the Environmental Protection Agency and the Council on Environmental Quality. At the state level it implemented numerous commissions overseeing environmental, water and energy policy. Even at the local level, it convinced hundreds of city and county governments to create analogous departments dealing with everything from recycling to wind power.

As a result, the environmental movement is now a multi-billion-dollar-per-year enterprise, which even pro-development

(Continued on page 30)

Are Municipal Foreign Policies Legal?

Critics of municipal foreign policies often argue that it is illegal because the U.S. Constitution vests exclusive authority in foreign policymaking in the president.

The First Amendment, however, guarantees the rights of cities to undertake any education, research, lobbying or litigation they please, regardless of the foreign policy content. The Fifth Amendment also gives local officials a broad privilege to travel freely abroad to promote their community's views.

In the name of states' rights, U.S. courts now are giving local governments more power to police and zone their jurisdictions as they see fit, even if foreign policy criteria are added. The Massachusetts Supreme Court, for example, recently upheld a Cambridge ordinance banning the testing or storing of chemical warfare agents within its city limits.

The U.S. Supreme Court has said that state and local governments have a broad right to choose companies they hire as contractors or invest in. While it has reserved judgment on whether it will apply these principles to anti-apartheid divestment and "Buy American" ordinances, there is every reason to expect that it will. The last thing a market-oriented democracy needs is the government commanding local jurisdictions on how to spend or invest their money.

The surprising bottom line—underscored by consistent tolerance by the courts, Congress and the president—is that municipal foreign policies are essentially legal.

—Michael Shuman

RESEARCH & ANALYSIS/GEORGE PERKOVICH

NEW SOVIET THINKING

U.S. SOVIETOLOGISTS SAY THE KREMLIN IS SERIOUS ABOUT REVERSING THE ARMS RACE

Cold Warriors on Capitol Hill and right-wing newspaper columnists would have Americans believe that Mikhail Gorbachev's latest offer to reduce sharply the number of intermediate-range missiles in Europe is nothing more than a "shrewd trap" for a crisis-ridden Ronald Reagan.

But a growing number of respected American defense analysts and sovietologists disagree. They are convinced that Gorbachev is serious about making substantial cuts in military forces.

"The Soviets are prepared to go a long, long way towards far-reaching arms reductions, not just in theory, but in concrete ways, even to take steps that are less than fair to them," says Raymond Garthoff, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution who was a member of the SALT I negotiating team and has been a leading analyst of Soviet military and foreign policy for 30 years. Garthoff says Gorbachev's January 15, 1986 proposal is the basic outline of the arms reductions the Soviets genuinely want: to halve the number of American and Soviet strategic nuclear weapons (in five to eight years), to completely eliminate medium range nuclear missiles in Europe, to end nuclear testing, to renounce development and deployment of "space-strike weapons," and to freeze the number of French and British nuclear weapons.

Although the Reagan administration, the U.S. media and NATO allies dismissed the Soviet proposal as propaganda when it was made in January 1986 and again when Gorbachev offered essentially the same package at Reykjavik, Garthoff, his Brookings colleagues Michael MccGwire and John Steinbruner, Columbia University's Robert Legvold and the University of Michigan Sovietologist Matthew Evangelista insist the Soviets are earnest.

These analysts point out that since the initial 1986 proposal the Soviets have gone even further and posited their desire to make substantial, verifiable cuts in conventional forces in Europe as well.

What lies behind the Soviet proposals? What evidence is there that the Soviets are genuine and are not merely trying to capture the public-relations high ground?

MccGwire and Garthoff, whose research credentials are buttressed by years of military and diplomatic experience, respectively, emphasize that Gorbachev's initiatives have not come out of the blue, but rather are extensions of shifts in Soviet security policy made in the mid-1970s.

"The Soviets concluded in the early-to-mid 1970s that arms reductions could be a substantially contributing element to Soviet security," says Garthoff. According to MccGwire, a former British naval officer specializing in Soviet military affairs, the recent proposals seem to be such a departure because the earlier Soviet shift "was obscured from us—we deliberately obfuscated ourselves" and clung to the notion that the Soviets were relentlessly pursuing nuclear superiority over the West.

Robert Legvold, who directs the Harriman Institute at Columbia and advises members of Congress on Soviet affairs, concurs that arms reductions have been high on the Kremlin's agenda for years, but sees the recent Soviet moves as indications of a dramatic, exciting redefinition of what constitutes Soviet security in the modern era. "I think Gorbachev's initiatives are more than an extension of previous Soviet arms control thinking—they represent a substantial rethinking of basic Soviet security requirements." Legvold, along with Garthoff and Steinbruner, says the Soviets now believe "national security is much broader than military security. They understand that the U.S.S.R.'s welfare is as much a matter of developing political and economic relations as a matter of military force."

Common Security. At the core of the new Soviet approach to foreign and military policy is the notion of common security. "Gorbachev is the first Soviet leader that has explored the link between national security and common security—the idea that one's own security is related to the security of others and that the other guy's loss is not necessarily your gain," says Legvold. Rather than viewing East-West relations as a stark, zero-sum competition, the Soviets now recognize that their own security depends on mutual accommodations with Western security interests, and greater integration into Western economic and political affairs.

To John Steinbruner, director of Foreign

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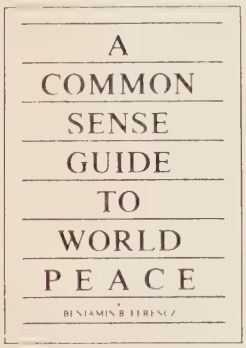

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Policy Studies at Brookings, this means the Soviets have resigned themselves to preserving the status quo, protecting the influence and positions they have in the world and concentrating on improving the quality of life (and the standing of the Communist Party) in their sphere instead of extending the sphere itself. This in turn implies a restructuring of Soviet military forces that befits a more defensive orientation. Significant arms reductions are a means of achieving this restructuring and getting on with the business of transforming Soviet society and improving Soviet standing in the world.

Hard evidence of the Soviet shift is apparent in at least five major areas. Most startling is the new Soviet position on intermediate nuclear forces (INF). At Reykjavik Gorbachev reaffirmed his earlier proposal to eliminate all these weapons (SS-20 and SS-4 missiles for the Soviets; Pershing and Cruise missiles for the United States). In other words, the Soviets accepted President Reagan's "zero option" proposal of 1982, the very proposal that former Secretary of State Alexander Haig deemed too advantageous to the United States for the Soviets to take seriously.

"At Reykjavik Gorbachev literally abandoned every position over which the Soviets walked out of the Geneva negotiations in 1983," says Legvold. Garthoff describes the Soviet reversal this way: "Gorbachev forced a [review of] the INF position from a 'zero-based budgeting' approach, asking 'what do we need, not what do we already have.' That was hard for the Soviets. They're giving up more."

The second clear evidence of a real change in Soviet thinking is the test ban moratorium. The Soviets unilaterally stopped testing with the avowed hope the United States would join them. As the United States kept testing, the Soviets kept renewing the moratorium, despite objections from within their military.

Raymond Garthoff shares an anecdote that conveys the seriousness of the evolving Soviet approach to security: "I was in Moscow in March [1986] and a Soviet general asked me if I would renew the unilateral moratorium if I were in the Soviet position, with the Reagan administration continuing to test. I said, reluctantly, 'No, I wouldn't renew it.' The general just beamed. He told me this was his position, too. Well, a few days later Gorbachev announced an extension of the moratorium." [The Soviets finally ended their moratorium after the first U.S. test of 1987 in early February.]

Verification of arms reductions is the third area of change in Soviet security policy. "The Soviets have [reviewed] the question of verification," Garthoff reports, "and concluded that they had been too conservative. By refusing on-site inspections, for example, they gave a weapon to Western arms-reduction opponents."

A leading American expert on verification, Michael Krepon of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace says that the Soviets have changed their rhetorical positions on verification and have buttressed their rhetoric with specific gestures, such as allowing the Natural Resources Defense Council to place seismic monitors in Kazakstan and opening civilian nuclear reactors to inspection under the auspices of the International Atomic Energy Agency. Krepon says the West will not know how thoroughly the Soviets will match rhetoric with action until the United States "engages the Soviets in serious negotiations."

The fourth example of new thinking in practice is the Soviet proposal to halve strategic nuclear weapons. Steinbruner argues that "the Soviets didn't propose nuclear abolition at Reykjavik, President Reagan did. The Soviet position of 50 percent cuts in strategic forces was a simple, compelling deal that was the realistic basis for a viable arrangement."

Robert Legvold identifies the fifth—and least explored—area where the Soviets appear prepared to make material changes: conventional forces. "I think something very substantial is happening on conventional arms," he says. "I think they're about to cross a crucial threshold and move away from the fairly fruitless MBFR [mutually-balanced-force-reduction] approach of reducing forces." Legvold, Steinbruner, MccGwire and Garthoff all believe the Soviets are on the verge of trying, in Legvold's words, "to fundamentally restructure their conventional forces in Europe, moving away from the old strategy of offensive, forward deployments."

Legvold says that while it will be hard to get the military to go along with such a radical shift to a more defensive posture, the change is on Gorbachev's agenda. According to Legvold, at the November 1986 meeting in Vienna between Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze and Secretary of State George P. Shultz, Shevardnadze "made plain that the Soviets understand the link between conventional forces and nuclear reductions and were prepared to think of restructuring." This February, Chief of the Soviet General Staff Sergei Akhromeev reportedly gave a similar indication to leading former American officials, including Henry Kissinger, Harold Brown and Cyrus Vance. In coming months it appears that the Soviets will direct more attention to this critical area of East-West tension.

The catalog of meaningful new Soviet positions presented so far excludes space weapons. Had not the president and some corners of the Pentagon made opposition to an arms race in space a hostile act, the Soviet resistance to SDI would be one more indication of the Kremlin's evolving approach to security.

To be sure, the Soviets would oppose SDI even if they were not sincerely trying to curtail the arms race. Yet, analysts say the Soviets have made concessions to American desires to continue space weapons research and development, asking only that the United States stay within the framework of the ABM treaty for at least 10 more years. The Soviet position on SDI, then, reinforces the logic of Moscow's new thinking about common security and its de-emphasis on military forces.

Finally, what does common security mean if it does not encompass the needs of the Third World? After all, it is in the Third World that the East-West conflict actually sheds blood. The Reagan doctrine of supporting anti-communist insurgencies contradicts the idea of common security and non-military resolution of conflict. Gorbachev's record is less clear, leaving the question open: Will Soviet aid and encouragement to combatants in the Third World increase, or will the Soviets exert themselves to cool hot spots?

Rhetorically, at least, the Soviets hint at demilitarizing their role in the Third World. Gorbachev said at the 27th Communist Party Congress, "We are firmly convinced that encouraging revolutions from outside, and doubly so by military means, is futile and inadmissable." The avowed Soviet aim of politically resolving the war in Afghanistan could be pursued to test how thoroughly the Soviets will enact their new thinking in the Third World.

Back in the U.S.A. "The real question," says Raymond Garthoff, "is not whether the Soviets really want arms reductions. The real question is how interested are we?" The Reagan administration has done nothing in six years to demonstrate a commitment to arms reductions. Analysts find it difficult to suggest specific responses the United States should make to the Soviets because to date top American officials have lacked the political will to make great progress, have no coherent strategy and therefore have no tactics.

"Obviously, if the United States is to take advantage of the opportunities the Soviets are offering, there will have to be political adjustments here," says Brookings' Steinbruner. "The first thing we have to do is to establish consensus on basic principles of mutual security, and, if you will, control those who want to make U.S. security a unilateral matter revolving around technological challenges to the Soviet Union. People with extreme positions have seized control of prominent staff positions in key positions of power on military and arms control issues."

Steinbruner says the potential to correct the misguided course of American security policy lies in public opinion: "Getting the United States to take the Soviets seriously and make progress on arms reductions is a big problem, but the underlying public opinion is there. There is basic support for arms control. If the administration fails to get an agreement there will be an opportunity for some politician to exploit. I think there's a demand for an alternative security policy out there, but no leader has responded to it yet."

Were such a leader to emerge, which realistically presupposes a resurgent peace movement, the Soviets have afforded him or her the simple opportunity to "just say yes" and get on with the arduous, technical process of putting the historic agreement on paper and defending it against the Cold War forces that reject the possibility of common security. □

George Perkovich is a freelance writer living in Somerville, Massachusetts.

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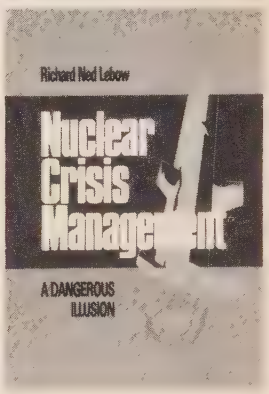

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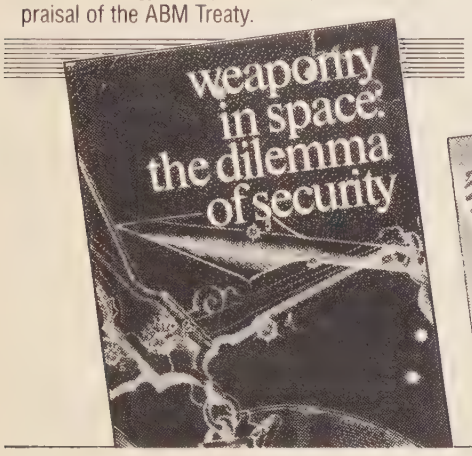

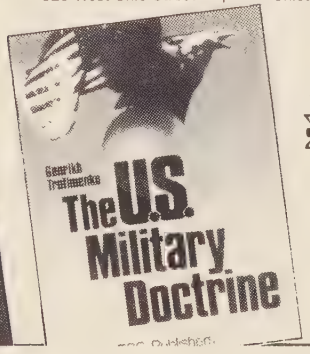

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MUNICIPAL/Continued from page 26

zealots like James Watt could not dismantle. Now private environmental groups are in the position of lobbying agencies that have somewhat sympathetic agendas, rather than having to create policies from scratch against wholly unsympathetic national policymakers. Municipal foreign policies hold the promise of similarly transforming the U.S. peace movement into a network of thousands of institutions, employing tens of thousands of Americans dedicated to peace.

For Albert Donnay, director of Nuclear Free America, a partnership with local government is the difference between winning and losing: "Local victories are responsible in large part for propelling many of the national campaigns like the Freeze onto the national level. Local government is accessible, it's accountable, and it's responsible. In six months to a year you can make a lasting achievement. It's a winning strategy and people like to win. That's the bottom line."

This was certainly true for Ron Freund, a grassroots activist for Chicago Clergy and Laity Concerned, who thought, "If local government could change federal policy towards South Africa, why not apply a similar process to the arms race." Freund helped convince Chicago's City Council to create a nuclear free zone and a conversion commission within the city's Department of Economic Development. "Once activists got involved in the campaign and started meeting with aldermen," Freund says, "they got energized. They learned that a continued effort at the local level will bear fruit."

"We have to learn a new way of working with government," says Donnay, "There are many constituencies that local government works with all of the time. The peace movement can do this, too, if it makes it a priority and takes the time. Once in there, we can institutionalize ourselves in City Hall just as well as the Chamber of Commerce."

These local initiatives suggest that an emerging challenge for the peace movement may no longer be how to stop the next weapons system in Congress, but rather how to launch the next visionary, well-funded foreign policy out of City Hall. If each of us thinks globally and acts locally, we can become our own secretary of state—with funding, legitimacy and power. And unlike the distant bureaucrats running foreign policy in Washington, D.C., municipal foreign policymakers can remain under local scrutiny and control. We need only turn our imaginations to our own backyards and dare to begin. □

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Books

Citizen Diplomats *by Gale Warner and Michael Shuman ($19.95 hardcover, 381 pp. Continuum, 1987). Citizen Diplomats* tells the stories of nine Americans, ranging from an Iowa farmer to a leader of wilderness expeditions for teenagers, who have organized exchange programs, "Bike for Peace" expeditions, and conferences on U.S.-Soviet relations. The book provides an overview of strategies for citizen diplomacy and a final section on how others can become citizen diplomats.

The Other Side: How Soviets and Americans Perceive Each Other *by Robert D. English and Jonathan J. Halperin ($9.95 paperback, 155 pp, Committee for National Security, 1987).* The first in a series of books by CNS examining the Soviet Union, *The Other Side* is a highly readable look at the history, institutions and media that have shaped our perceptions of the Soviets and the Soviets' perceptions of us. English and Halperin combine good writing with a skilled selection of previously published materials analyzing the news media, books and films from the two countries. The authors have given us a book full of insights into the Soviets and ourselves; one that makes this reviewer look forward to the rest of the *Beyond The Kremlin* series. *The Other Side* can be ordered from CNS, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW # 301, Washington, DC 20009 (include 69 cents for postage and handling).

Psychology and the Prevention of Nuclear War *edited by Ralph K. White ($20 paperback, 591 pp. New York University Press, 1987).* This collection of essays by psychologists, activists and scholars examines public perceptions of nuclear war and potential enemies, and explores alternative ways of coping with perceived conflict. The authors suggest ways of changing public perceptions and private fears through education political action.

Periodicals

Bulletin of Muncipal Foreign Policy *edited by Michael Shuman.* Subtitled "City Involvement in International Trade, Cultural Exchange and Global Politics," this excellent new newsletter is published quarterly by the Local Elected Officials Project of the Center for Innovative Diplomacy, 17931 Sky Park Circle, Suite F, Irvine, CA 92714. It can be obtained by joining CID for $35.

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Public Service Announcement for Peace Groups *($30 3/4 inch tape, Ohio and Cleveland Nuclear Weapons Freeze).* Produced by Emmy award winner Bud Margolis and narrated by actor and activist Ed Asner, this "generic" 30-second spot is designed so that any peace group can insert its name and phone number and make it completely its own. Tape comes with tips on how to obtain cooperation of local broadcast and cable television stations. Available from the Cleveland Nuclear Weapons Freeze, 1468 W. 25 St., Cleveland, OH 44113.

Compiled by Leon Tune, an intern at Nuclear Times.

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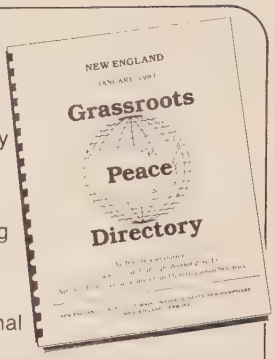

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NETWORK

ORGANIZATION NEWS AND COMMENT

ESR

When Children Play War: What Does it Mean?

ARE TODAY'S CHILDREN LEARNING SOMEthing about weapons, violence and war that is different from what older generations learned? Why are children drawn to war play? How do violent cartoons with ingenious murderous devices affect preschool audiences?

More than 350 people discussed these and other questions with child psychologists, toy manufacturers and other speakers at "Toys & Us: Examining the Controversy Over War Toys," a conference sponsored by New York Metro/ESR.

Variety of Viewpoints. "Children know the difference between fantasy and reality, between what's real and what's pretend," said psychologist and folklorist Brian Sutton-Smith. He asserted that children *need* to play at war in order to fill certain development needs.

"Nonsense," responded Robert Gould, psychiatrist and NY chairman of the National Coalition on Television Violence. "Just because we played cowboys and Indians when we were kids doesn't mean it was right." By condoning or encouraging violent play, he argued, parents give their children strong messages that violence is an acceptable way of resolving conflicts.

Child development experts Diane Levin and Nancy Carlsson-Paige, quoting from their own recent research, noted that while war play may be an appropriate way for children to fulfill development needs, children *do* learn attitudes about power, conflict resolution and even international politics from such play. Recommending ways for parents to modify war games, they reminded the audience, "If we don't involve ourselves in our children's play, we're leaving the political education of our children up to the toy and television industries."

More to Come. The conference was the first national event that brought together a broad spectrum of manufacturers and experts. "Our hope for the conference," said New York Metro/ESR Director Tom Roderick, "was that it would be a catalyst for giving toys in general, and war toys in particular, the kind of serious attention they deserve."

Does Kenner's Centurion Depth Charge Assault Weapon System prepare Johnny for war?

The conference has spurred new initiatives. As the two days came to a close, participants formed working groups to fund, research and act upon some of the complicated questions that were identified.

The concern about how children use toy weapons and war fantasies in their play is something that affects both parents and teachers. ESR brings parents and teachers together in an organization that combines the efforts of all caring adults to teach future generations the skills and values they'll need:

- to examine the *challenges* of the nuclear age,
- to develop a *commitment* to social responsibility,
- and to cultivate a willingness to *act* on their convictions.

Please write us at the address below if you would like more information about the conference on war toys, or if you would like more information about ESR.

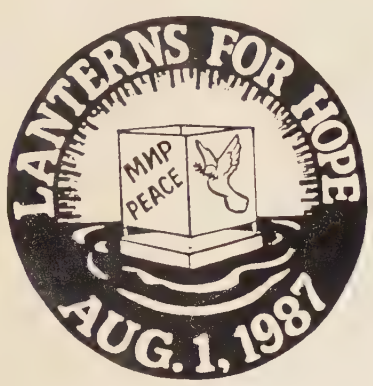
Educators for Social Responsibility, 23 Garden St., Cambridge, MA 02138, (617) 492-1746.

SANE/FREEZE

Notes on the Merger: Reports from New Jersey, California, New England and Michigan

ACTIVISTS, STRATEGISTS, ORGANIZERS and supporters are coming together to help create a new organization. The merger comes after a long series of discussions aimed at revitalizing and strengthening the peace and disarmament movement. Combining the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and SANE will release a new surge of energy. Even as merger negotiations continue on a national level, new projects, financial resources and local initiatives have begun to emerge even before the two organizations have been fully integrated. Below are reports from around the country.

New Jersey. Michael Immerso is the interim co-director of the newly merged Freeze and SANE in New Jersey and a member of the national transition team. Even before the merger process began, Immerso says there was a close working relationship between the groups. "SANE was one of the principle groups in the New Jersey Freeze network. The network func-



On Saturday, August 1st the Rivers of the World will be aglow with Floating Peace Lanterns. Learn how you and your community can promote world peace by participating in

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tioned as an autonomous coalition including groups like the Council of Churches and Physicians for Social Responsibility," says Immerso. "A decision was then made to consolidate into one organization with the Freeze operating as a disarmament network."

The consolidation took more than six months and was formally ratified in mid-1986. The bylaws of SANE are being redrafted to include the Freeze network, and meetings of the network are alternated with SANE state committee meetings.

"We do quite well and have done quite well at making disarmament a high profile issue. But when we look at the status of the national and state organizations, we know that we need something bigger than Freeze and SANE," says Immerso. "That's what the transtion team is focusing on. We want to increase our effectiveness and we know there's a lot of hard work ahead."

California. "We envision ourselves creating a new organization," says Chris Brown, executive director of the Southern California Freeze. At a meeting in January a new regional council was created to include both SANE and Freeze representatives. The council was the beginning of an active effort to merge SANE and the Freeze from Fresno to San Diego. Since then the two groups have combined their canvasses and have developed a formula for financial integration. The staffs of the two groups have met to revise job descriptions and plan for the future.

But organizational revisions are only the beginning. "By joining together we can combine the strengths and combat the weaknesses of the two organizations. We'll be able to release the potential that the merger creates," Brown says. "The message it sends to the community is positive. It shows that we won't let turf get in the way of our goals. We hope it stimulates even greater federation beyond our two groups."

The Southern California Freeze newsletter will broaden its coverage to issues such as Central America and economic conversion. Brown points out that the Freeze and SANE have worked in coalition on these issues in the past, but the merger may create more visibility for them. In June there will be a celebration of the merger—an activity that local activists hope will highlight the potential they see in the new organization.

New England. The focus in New England is on programmatic integration of the Freeze Campaign and SANE. SANE Regional Director Kevin O'Connell noted that the SANE canvas in Massachusetts has been working throughout the past year to activate people in support of the Freeze's Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty campaign.

"We've worked to turn people out for town meetings on the CTB resolution and provided staff assistance as well," O'Donnell said. "We've been successful in these joint efforts in getting the resolution on the ballot in communities around the state."

O'Connell also said that the Freeze and SANE boards and staffs in Massachusetts are setting up a committee to help coordinate working relationships in the future.

In New Hampshire, work is focusing on the 1988 presidential election. O'Connell says SANE and Freeze people are identifying members and activists to work on the primary in order to make the candidates more accountable on peace and disarmament issues.

Michigan. Kim Kratz, program director for Michigan SANE, is excited about the merger activities in her state. About two months ago, SANE and Freeze members in Michigan decided to merge the two organizations. They are now meeting to develop a new board.

Kratz gets noticeably excited when she talks about what the merger will mean. "We'll become one organization with its own set of goals and its own outreach program. We want to affiliate with the merged national organization and base our local organizing agenda on the national program."

To achieve this goal, an all-day planning retreat has been scheduled for the end of May. The new joint board will meet in early summer and the bylaws should be finalized by Labor Day. "Everyone's thinking in terms of the whole now," says Kratz. "It's good to be part of this merger. We hope that other local groups will follow suit."

As full integration approaches, the Freeze Campaign and SANE face some critical problems at the national level: what will it mean to combine well—developed national resources (SANE's 150,000 national members and staff of 30) with a grassroots-based organization? Will it be possible to synthesize two distinct organizations, transforming our combined resources into real political power?

While these debates continue, grassroots activists will continue to forge ahead with their own merger efforts. It is there where the merger must be fully worked out.

For more information contact the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 220 I St. NE, Suite 120, Washington, DC 20002 (202) 544-0880; and SANE, 711 G St. SE, Washington, DC 20003, (202) 546-7100.

PSR

We're No Fools: FEMA's National Security Exercises

THE FEDERAL EMERGENCY MANAGEMENT Agency (FEMA) had something bizarre in store this March and April for the states in Northwest. The agency planned to conduct "National Security Exercises" in Oregon, Washington, Idaho and Alaska to test reporting and communications capabilities in the event of a nuclear attack. Ironically (or perhaps appropriately), some of these civil defense exercises were scheduled for April Fool's Day.

Numerous local, state and national officials joined Physicians for Social Responsibility in opposing the drills. We know that the American public cannot be protected against the catastrophic effects of nuclear war. We know that nuclear war cannot be survived in any meaningful sense. We're no fools. And neither are the American people.

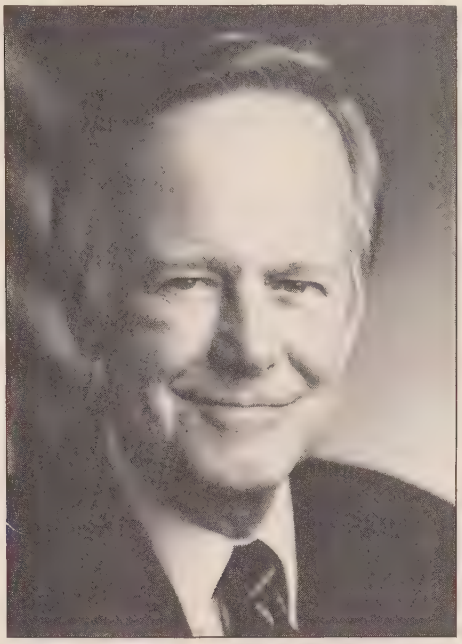
The FEMA exercises are based on a scenario in which a worsening international crisis leads to the detonation of 48 nuclear warheads in the Pacific Northwest during a two-and-a-half hour period. High-altitude nuclear explosions would generate an electromagnetic pulse (EMP), which would knock out electricity, intercity phone systems and unprotected radio communications equipment throughout the region. Local emergency managers were asked to examine how the general populace would react and whether readiness in specific locations should be increased.

One vital detail, however, was absent from FEMA's calculations: taking an inventory of telephones and transistor radios cannot stop a nuclear catastrophe or enable recovery. The only meaningful protection against nuclear war is its prevention.

Threat to Withhold Funds. FEMA threatened to withhold funds for all varieties of emergency planning and relief from states that did not participate in nuclear war civil defense planning. While FEMA's charter includes "dual use" planning for both attack-related and natural disaster-related measures, there are no laws or regulations that can be construed to support coercion.

Linking funds for nuclear war civil defense to other emergency planning allocations has met with protest from officials in several states. In August 1986, Massachusetts Gov. Michael Dukakis notified FEMA that his state would not participate in attack preparedness planning. Despite such opposition, FEMA provided the state with its full share of funding for 1987.

FEMA has tried to use this scare tactic before without success. This time the agency may have chosen to twist the arm of the wrong region. After a week of public outcry and pressure from state legislators, members of Congress and groups like PSR, Washington Gov. Booth Gardner announced that his state would not participate in the FEMA exercises, despite the threatened loss of funds. Rep. Norm Dicks (D-Wash.) called the exercises a "waste of federal funding. . . . based on an absurd premise."



Sen. Brock Adams has introduced a bill to stop the Federal Emergency Management Agency from withholding disaster funds.

The state of Oregon followed suit soon after. In a letter to FEMA, Oregon's new governor, Neil Goldschmidt, wrote, "Our citizens do not want the state to participate in an exercise that may actually threaten world peace by advancing the notion that nuclear war is survivable. The concept of planning for a survivable nuclear war is one that many Oregonians find unacceptable." FEMA might have anticipated this reaction: seven of the 10 communities where exercises were planned recently have declared themselves nuclear free zones.

Sen. Brock Adams (D-Wash.) has introduced a bill (S. 606) to stop FEMA from withholding disaster funds. Reps. Les AuCoin (D-Ore.) and Peter DeFazio (D-Ore.) introduced the same bill in the House (H.R. 1429). "FEMA wants to see how we would respond if an enemy exploded dozens of nuclear weapons over our state," said Adams. "I can save everyone a lot of trouble and money. I'll tell them how we would respond: we would die."

Aucoin urged the governor to conduct an emergency exercise at the Hanford Nuclear Reservation instead. Accusing FEMA of "shameful blackmail," AuCoin called on Congress to re-examine FEMA's mandate for nuclear war civil defense planning.

PSR urged local and state emergency management and disaster planning officials, as well as local and state governments, to refuse to participate in the FEMA exercises. PSR also called on Congress to conduct a thorough review and revamping of FEMA's policies, programs and mandate.

Civil defense planning for nuclear war perpetuates dangerous illusions and wastes public funds. It is foolish to pretend that we can prepare ourselves to survive a nuclear war in any meaningful way. And we're no fools.

For more information, contact Physicians for Social Responsibility, 1601 Connecticut Ave., NW, Washington, DC 20009 (202) 939-5750.

PEACE LINKS

Look Who's Leading the Way: High School Students

IN MID-APRIL HIGH SCHOOL STUDENTS sent the last of their petitions to the White House requesting a nationally broadcast forum on the "nuclear arms issue." The petition project was started by students at Milton Academy in Massachusetts following a speech by peace activist Helen Caldicott. The students are asking that nationally recognized authorities on the nuclear arms race present their differing viewpoints, followed by questions from a panel of high school students—all on national network television.

The students from Milton already have learned that, in an "informed democracy," the people need information in order to judge. They are joined by other students who will follow the progress of this idea to see if an experiment in direct democracy has a chance in the America of the '80s.

Peace Links women have taken part in this experiment by publicizing the petition drive in their communities and working with local high school students. Peace Links' high school organizing kit has included information on the National Forum project as one avenue high school students can take to work for peace.

Another recommended program for high school students is a model United Nations. In many high schools, essay contests are underway to define real national security. Pen friendships with students in the Soviet Union are springing up all over. In

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Pittsburgh, students from three high schools organized a "Love the Earth Day" featuring speakers and skits about arms control. And in many places—such as Central High School and Mount St. Mary's Hall in Little Rock—high school Peace Links groups are flourishing.

The phenomenon is not limited to the United States. A group of Western European students currently is touring the United States urging Americans to work for a Comprehensive Test Ban. Calling themselves "Next Step Nevada—International Campaign: Dialogue, Test and Peace," the students remind us that if young people can speak about and demand a role in determining their future, so can the rest of us.

You can obtain a "Reach for Peace" packet for high school students by writing Peace Links at 747 Eighth St., SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 544-0805.

AFSC

Disarming Visions: Strategies for Change

THESE DAYS WE OFTEN ASK, "WHERE ARE we trying to go?"

The resulting discussion is important. But just as important is our vision of how we get there.

And on this question there is considerable confusion. Think about the last time you sat down in a meeting to discuss long term strategies. Were people clear and in agreement about how their goals could be realized? Or were they operating with many different ideas of change?

One way to examine these issues is by looking at work that is now going on. What do current activities suggest about visions and strategies for change?

Three developments seem particularly important to us:

1. At the local level there are ongoing and lively struggles around home-porting, nuclear free zones, the transport of nuclear materials, nuclear weapons facilities, elements of the nuclear infrastructure such as GWEN (Ground Wave Emergency Network)—and more. A common theme runs throughout this work: the refusal of communities to play host to nuclear weapons and to a nuclearized foreign policy.

2. These activities are increasingly linked to similar international efforts. People throughout the world are challenging the U.S. military presence. And activists are organizing themselves into networks that cross national boundaries and issues, as in the Nuclear Free and Independent Pacific Movement, the Pacific Campaign to Disarm the Seas, and the North Atlantic Network.

3. The growing number of civil disobedience actions, such as those organized by the American Peace Test, are energizing people. These provide opportunities to take direct action against the nuclear arms race and, because of the way they are generally organized, to be democratically involved in giving shape to that direct action.

All these activities contain an implicit view of how change will come about. Here are some elements of that vision:

- The power to effect major change lies with people, not governments. Legislative and electoral work can be a useful tool or vehicle for realizing or ratifying change, but it is not the starting point.
- Work against the nuclear arms race must start where people are and needs to be linked to other concerns in people's lives. In addressing home-porting for example, jobs, housing and the environment are effective organizing issues.
- People in local communities should be the *subjects* of change—the ones who identify "problems" and "solutions." They should not be viewed as the the *objects* of change—the passive implementers of a program defined by others. We need genuine democracy in the formation of disarmament strategies and in the development of foreign and military policy.
- "No nukes in my backyard" is a powerful sentiment in many communities—and one which can also help people to understand the desire of other peoples to be nuclear free.

Changes in U.S. policies will come about only partly through the efforts of U.S. activists. The challenges posed by people in other parts of the world are extremely important. We should support them and find opportunities to work together.

What do you think? Write to us: American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

COALITION

Democracy at Work: The Peace Mission Project

TO BE AN EFFECTIVE CITIZEN LOBBYIST for peace and justice issues you need to:

- build a relationship with your representatives in Congress and their staffs;
- have regular contact with their offices;
- demonstrate that your concerns and policy preferences are shared by leaders and members of civic, religious and professional organizations in your district;
- and follow-up misinformed ideas of

members with correct information.

The Peace Mission is an excellent way to combine the necessary elements for effective citizen lobbying. Where other local coalitions fail, a Peace Mission could be a way for the groups in your district or state to work together to increase your influence with members of Congress.

Now the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy has developed resources to help you set up a Peace Mission—or a version of it—in your state or congressional district.

The idea behind the Peace Mission is simple. It's been used in Rhode Island, Maine, New Jersey and Colorado. You don't need a budget, staff, office or meetings. Each group in the coalition commits itself to sending at least one person to Washington, D.C., to meet with senators and representatives one or two weeks each year. These people represent the Peace Mission coalition and their local organization. The Peace Mission representatives lobby on issues upon which the Peace Mission coalition has agreed—although the representatives do not have to lobby on *all* of the Peace Mission issues. The Rhode Island Peace Mission, for example, only lobbies on military issues such as nuclear weapons, conventional weapons, the defense budget and military aid abroad.

By organizing a Peace Mission you can:

- be taken more seriously by your representatives, and increase your chances of changing their votes;
- work together more effectively with other groups in your area on a clearly defined program;
- share the work of lobbying;
- and more easily involve new people in citizen lobbying.

You can arrange standing appointments with representatives and their staff, saving everyone time. A record-keeping system can be established so that information gathered at one lobby visit can be used in the next. A division of labor in the district or state will increase efficiency and enable people to share information.

Instead of individuals writing letters alone and feeling discouraged about their impact on the representative, there will be more people actively communicating with representatives, passing on their insights to each other, and *together* feel discouraged about the way they vote. . . . and then go on together to do something about it.

When lobbying coalitions develop at the local level, it is a sign of political sophistication and progress on military issues—a necessary step toward more victories where it counts: in the budget battles and policy decision making of Congress.

The Coalition would like to help you establish a local lobbying coalition. We have printed resources and a staff who can facilitate the development of the Peace Mission in your area. In addition, we are currently beginning advocacy training workshops for religious denominations in four states: Kansas, Washington, New York and Indiana. Everyone is welcome.

For more information, call Eleanor Milroy or Tina Clarke at the Coalition for a New Foreign Policy, 712 G St., SE, Washington, DC 20003 (202) 546-8400.

ADPSR

Peace Parks, Posters and Design Contests

LOCAL CHAPTERS OF THE ARCHITECTS, Designers and Planners for Social Responsibility are engaged in a variety of programs. In addition to the "Nuclear Free Profession" pledges described in the last issue of *Nuclear Times*, other current ADPSR activities include:

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In 1987, approximately 12% of your federal tax dollar will be used for nuclear weapons related spending. That works out to be about $698 per taxpayer. If you would prefer to spend some of that money for a more sane purpose, I have a suggestion I'd like to describe to you.

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Manic Denial has been awarded the sponsorship of the Film Arts Foundation, which qualifies artists like myself for non-profit status. Therefore, any donation you make to help produce **Manic Denial** is tax deductible.

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For more information about **Manic Denial**, please contact Hal Rucker at (415) 363-1150. Thank you.

Letters of endorsement from the following are available on file: Physicians for Social Responsibility, WAND, A.D.P.S.R., Rear Admiral La Rocque, (Dir.) Center for Defense Information, Dr. Jerome Frank of The Johns Hopkins University School of Psychiatry, and Direct Cinema, Ltd.

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ALLOW 4-6 WEEKS DELIVERY

■ Two major Peace Park projects. These are being actively pursued by ADPSR chapters. One, which is to be located near Moscow, involves cooperative efforts between architects in the United States and the Soviet Union for its design and construction. The second will be a National Peace Park on 45 acres at the foot of San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge. The United States then will have Liberty Park (at the Statue of Liberty) on the East Coast and a Peace Park on the West Coast.

■ A national design competition for fallout shelters entitled "Give them Shelter—It's not for Everyone." This project is in response to the ludicrous proposal by the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) that "600 radiation-proof operating centers" be constructed for government officials while the rest of the population is issued Geiger counters. The intent of this competition is to elicit thought-provoking images dealing with this plan.

■ Eye-catching posters comparing expenditures for weapons with those required to meet basic community needs. These posters soon will be displayed on buses in Chicago and Los Angeles. One reads: "Consider. One day's nuclear arms spending equals the annual salaries of 6,000 Chicago school teachers. Consider your priorities. Write your senator."

■ Campaigns against the proposed homeporting of nuclear-armed warships. The efforts in New York and San Francisco continue. Seventeen design classes at City College of New York, the New York Institute of Technology, the New Jersey Institute of Technology, Parsons School of Design, and the Pratt Institute are working on a semester-long project to design a Center for Peace Studies as a rational alternative use of the Staten Island site.

■ A tour by members of the U.S.S.R.'s Union of Architects. The group has been invited to visit major U.S. cities as guests of ADPSR. This tour is part of an ongoing exchange program between design professionals in the two countries. The program began last spring when four of our board members were invited to the Soviet Union.

For copies of the Nuclear Free Professions Pledge form and/or more information, contact ADPSR, 225 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012 (212) 431-3756.

WAND

Women's Voices and Visions of Peace Workshops

WAND WAS CREATED IN 1980 BECAUSE DR. Helen Caldicott, among others, believed that women have a special energy and perspective to contribute to ending the arms race and construct a peaceful world. As a women's initiative, WAND has developed a speaker training workshop designed to help concerned individuals—especially women—speak out on the nuclear weapons issue.

The workshop, "Our Voices, Our Visions: How to Speak Out for Nuclear Disarmament," emphasizes the importance of speaking out on the nuclear weapons threat in any setting. While participants in the two-day workshop learn facts and figures about the nuclear arms race, they also concentrate on identifying the information they already know, the resources they can draw upon and the personal vision that motivates them to risk articulating their concerns.

A primary purpose of the workshop is to bring new people, particularly women, into the disarmament movement and to provide them with the information and the skills they need to arouse public concern in their communities. Another important purpose of these workshops is to provide support for the women and men who are already aware of the issue and involved, but who feel a need for more skills and for a support network to continue taking an active role in disarmament work. Hundreds of Americans across the country have participated in the workshops.

The workshop places a special emphasis on the role of women in voicing concerns about a nuclear holocaust and on the special quality of women's visions of a world at peace. Because women have often been excluded by social and political institutions, a special effort is made to help women overcome their inhibitions about speaking comfortably and forcefully and to empower them to be more effective peace advocates. The workshop helps women perceive the value of their own experiences and encourages them both to draw upon and share with one another their own resources for advocacy, commitment and action.

Since 1985, WAND has conducted more than 30 "Our Voices, Our Visions" workshops across the country. As a result of this success and because of the demand for this program, WAND has trained instructors who travel within their geographic areas to conduct these workshops.

For more information about this unique speaker training program contact: Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament Education Fund, 691 Massachusetts Ave., Arlington, MA 02174.

CALENDAR

May

8 TO 5/10, NEVADA TEST SITE. "Mother's Day Action," a gathering of women to support a Comprehensive Test Ban. Many national groups will participate. *Contact:* MDA (702) 363-5503.

9 CHICAGO. "Citizen Action to Bridge the Gap" conference on U.S.-U.S.S.R. relations at the University of Chicago, 8:30 a.m. to 9:30 p.m. *Contact:* Gene Podulka (312) 724-8957.

MINNEAPOLIS. "Mother's Day March for Peace and Justice" will begin at 11:30 am. *Contact:* Ed Gross (612) 870-1501.

ROCK ISLAND ARSENAL, ILL. "Die-in" at the world's largest arms manufacturing facility. Participants will gather and simultaneously fall to the ground. *Contact:* Chuck Trapkus (309) 786-1737.

DETROIT. "Legs Against Arms Walk-A-Thon" will begin at 10 am on Belle Isle. *Contact:* Detroit Area Freeze (313) 577-5053.

TO 5/10, AMARILLO, TEXAS. "Mother's Day Peace Encampment" at the Pantex plant, final assembly point for all U.S. nuclear bombs and warheads. *Contact:* Lillian Pawlik (405) 524-5577.

10 TO 5/17, NATIONWIDE. "National Truckwatch Week." Volunteers will monitor movements of DOE trucks carrying nuclear materials. Demonstrations along truck routes. *Contact:* Mobilization for Survival (212) 995-8787 or Nuke-Watch (608) 364-4146.

16 ST. PAUL. Freeze Walk to begin and end at the State Capitol grounds. *Contact:* Minn. Freeze Walk (612) 339-5144.

22 TO 5/23 MINNEAPOLIS. "Getting to Peace: A Midwest Approach." *Contact:* Michael Andregg (612) 623-4534.

TO 5/24 SANTA FE. National War Tax Conference, sponsored by National War Tax Resistance Coordinating Committee. *Contact:* NWTRCC (516) 286-4767.

Walkers in last year's "Pilgrimage to Reverse the Nuclear Arms Race." This year's walk will go from New York to Philadelphia to Washington between May 18 and 24. Contact: Pilgrimage Committee (617) 736-3590.

23 TO 5/25 NEWTON, KAN. "The Prairie Peace Pilgrimage Faith and Resistance Retreat," focusing on the move from protest to resistance. Optional civil disobedience. *Contact:* (316) 263-0025.

24 WORLDWIDE. "International Women's Day for Disarmament." Many events in Europe, some in the U.S. *Contact:* Gwyn Kirr (415) 441-6238.

25 ROCHESTER, N.Y. Peace groups, including a puppet theater troupe, will participate in the Memorial Day Parade. *Contact:* Trudy Baran (716) 442-3363.

26 DURHAM, N.C. A Musicians Against Nuclear Armaments (MANA) classical music concert. Held at the Duke Chapel, 8:15 p.m.. *Contact:* Jacquie Gist (919) 929-9821.

27 NATIONWIDE. *Faces of the Enemy*, a PBS documentary, addresses the psychology of enmity and war. Showtimes will vary.

29 TO 5/31 WORLDWIDE. "International Disarm the Seas Weekend." Actions at naval bases and weapons facilities around the world will protest the naval arms build-up. Coordinated by Mobilization for Survival and the North Atlantic Network. *Contact:* MFS in New York (212) 995-8787.

31 TO 6/6. DES MOINES. Iowa International Peace Camp. The theme is "Neighbors in a Global Village." Students encouraged to register. *Contact:* Don Gruber (515) 232-6262.

June

1 BLACK HILLS, SOUTH DAKOTA. Registration deadline for conference "Nonviolence: Creating Personal and Political Power." For people already committed to nonviolence. *Contact:* National Conference on Nonviolence (605) 688-4518.

TO 6/14, SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA. A "March for Survival" from Newport Beach to the Northrop Corp. headquarters in El Segundo. *Contact:* Southern California Freeze (213) 851-4930.

3 TO 6/5 HONOLULU. "Transcultural Aspects of Dispute Resolution," conference comparing approaches to conflict resolution in the Pacific, Asia, and the U.S. *Contact:* Program on Conflict Resolution (808) 948-6433.

5 THRU JUNE 7 FORT COLLINS, COLO. "MX—Faith and Resistance Retreat." Discussion, optional nonviolent civil disobedience. *Contact:* Connie Curtis (303) 837-1994.

7 NATIONWIDE. "Peace Pentecost 1987," focusing on Star Wars. Churches are encouraged to include in their Sunday morning services the Peace Pentecost Prayer. *Contact:* Sojourners Peace Ministry (202) 636-3637.

8 & JUNE 9 WASHINGTON, DC. The "Test Ban Caravan." Briefings, training sessions, rallies, lobby meetings, optional civil disobedience in support of a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty. *Contact:* Local offices of AFSC, APT, PSR, WAND, or SANE or the national offices of the Freeze Campaign (202) 546-5796.

13 TO 6/14, CHICAGO. "Vietnam Veterans Against the War" 20th Anniversary Reunion. *Contact:* Bill Davis (312) 386-1413.

15 NEVADA TEST SITE. American Peace Test will hold a nonviolent peace action after morning training. *Contact:* APT (702) 363-7780.

25 TO 6/27 WASHINGTON, D.C. "Enhancing National Security," the Committee for National Security's 5th Women's Leadership Conference. The various components of "security" will be examined. *Contact:* Ellen Blalock (202) 745-2450.

28 TO 7/4, NEW YORK CITY. Peace Week, initiated by the Greenwich Village Coalition. Many events, culminated by a major gathering July 4th. *Contact:* Matthew Sperling (212) 226-6191.

Upcoming

EDUCATORS. At Columbia's Teacher's College, consultations on peace studies 5/23, human rights 6/12-14 and religious perspectives on peace 6/19-21. *Contact:* Betty Reardon (212) 678-3972. 5/15 is the registration deadline for a two-part institute on choosing global futures 6/30-7/9 in Evanston, Ill. *Contact:* Robert Shuford (312) 256-5150. 6/1 is the registration deadline for Educators for Social Responsibility's summer institute on teaching about the U.S.S.R. 7/12-17 in Amherst, Mass. *Contact:* ESR (617) 492-1764.

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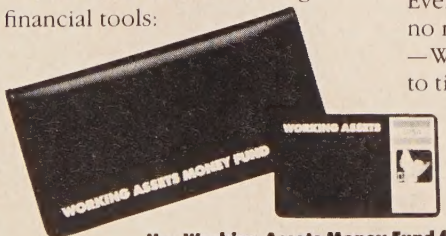

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